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Nazarkin Says Progress Made at Geneva Talks

LD1105144588 Moscow TASS in English 1423 GMT 11 May 88

[Text] Geneva May 11 TASS—The spring session of the Geneva conference on disarmament, which has ended here, has been marked by certain progress on the way to a convention for banning chemical weapons, the leader of the Soviet delegation there, Yuriy Nazarkin, has said.

Its results, he told TASS correspondent Boris Shabayev, include a special report on chemical weapons, which is to be submitted to the U.N. General Assembly's forthcoming third session on disarmament and which contains both the already agreed provisions of the projected convention and the points of divergence reflecting the positions of different delegations.

Speaking of specific areas in which there has been movement forward, Nazarkin said first of all that it has proved possible to solve the difficult problem of how to determine the chemical weapons production facilities which will have to be destroyed.

The complexity, he explained, lies in the fact that the border-line between chemicals that can be used to make chemical weapons and those that can't or can be of dual use is very vague.

The deep differences on the entire range of issues that existed between the USSR and the United States have been removed in the course of bilateral consultations which have produced an agreed working document, Nazarkin said, describing it as the biggest single success of the spring session.

Other positive results mentioned by him included debates on multilateral exchanges of data before the signing of the convention, which, he said, would be both a confidence-building measure and a step helping the practical implementation of the convention.

The Soviet Union during the spring session has set forth its considerations in a special memorandum on multilateral exchanges of data before the signature of the convention. Another Soviet proposal at the session, one for an experiment to test verification procedures at chemical facilities, belongs to the same category of measures, Nazarkin said.

He called attention to the fact that the pace of the talks has somewhat slowed down as compared with the previous year. And the main reason for this, he explained, is that the talks have reached a stage where each one of its participants is facing the need to make the political decision and say yes or no to the convention.

The Soviet Union, just like many other participants in the conference, is strongly for completing the convention and signing it as soon as possible, while the United States, which supports the convention's signature in words, in practice has been holding back the work on its text, the Soviet representative said.

Speaking of prospects for concluding the convention, he said that from the technical point of view, it is quite possible to complete the drafting work as early as this year, but some participants in the talks are as yet clearly unprepared to make the political decision.

Pyadyshev Reviews Strategic Treaty Prospects

AU1105140988 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 10 May 88 pp 1, 4

[Interview with Boris Pyadyshev, member of the Collegium of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs and chief editor of the journal MEZHDUNARODNAYA ZHIZN, by Atanas Atanasov, RABOTNICHESKO DELO correspondent in Moscow; date not given—first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] In less than 3 weeks, the Reagan-Gorbachev meeting is expected to take place. This is the fourth round of the Soviet-American summit dialogue which began 2 and 1/2 years ago in Geneva. This event—and to put it more precisely—the political atmosphere prevailing on the eve of this event and the expectations of its results—are the main subject of the interview which our Moscow correspondent Atanas Atanasov had with Boris Pyadyshev, member of the Collegium of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs and chief editor of the journal MEZHDUNARODNAYA ZHIZN.

[Pyadyshev] When at the April 1985 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, the leadership of our party and country was assumed by a team headed by Mikhail Gorbachev, Soviet foreign policy was in a difficult position. There was Afghanistan—above all. In those days, we could not see "any light at the end of the tunnel." A whole series of international problems was facing us as well.

The new Soviet leadership adopted a foreign policy concept which was expressed in the doctrine of the integral and mutually dependent world which was interpreted entirely in the spirit of the Leninist ideas.

[Atanasov] It is a well-known fact that in implementing this doctrine, the Soviet leadership embarked upon the path of an active international dialogue in conformity with the ideas of the new political thinking. How could you sum up and describe the results of these ideas?

[Pyadyshev] I would say that, regardless of the difficulties and the resistance of U.S. conservative and militarist circles, of NATO members, and other countries, restructuring in the sphere of USSR foreign policy produced specific results. Let us take for example the bold decision to withdraw the Soviet troops from Afghanistan, which is scheduled to begin on 15 May 1988. This concludes an entire chapter in the history of Afghanistan, a chapter

full of tragedy, of manly, militant courage, shortcomings, and international duty. A time will come when everything will be said about the reasons for our presence in that country. Nevertheless, we must look forward today. We hope that the policy of national reconciliation will be victorious in Afghanistan and that this country will become a friendly, nonaligned, and peace-loving state.

Let us cite another, specific result of the new political thinking: The Washington INF Treaty was signed. A Soviet-American discussion on the agreement for a 50-percent reduction of strategic offensive weapons while observing the conditions of the 1972 ABM Treaty, is now in progress.

[Atanasov] How can you describe the present preparations which are underway for the signing of an agreement on this problem, which is important for all mankind?

[Pyadyshev] If we objectively consider the stands of the USSR and the United States, we will come to the following conclusion: There are five basic questions on which the two sides should reach an agreement: The first concerns antimissile defense. On this question, the USSR is in favor of preserving the status quo. The United States is trying to open up a new area of military competition. In this case we support the positive line, while the U.S. has adopted a negative stand. The second question concerns sea-launched cruise missiles. We are in favor of banning them, or at least limiting them under an effective system of verification. The United States demands freedom of action, or minimal limitations, without a verification system. In this case, again, we support the positive line and the United States has adopted a negative attitude. The third question concerns air-launched cruise missiles. We are in favor of limiting them under a system of strict verification, while the United States wishes to limit itself to ostensibly taking account of them as part of the strategic offensive weapons, while bombs and small-size missiles should not count at all. As a result of this, the stand of the USSR can again be described as more positive. The fourth question is the one concerning mobile ICBM's. We are in favor of their deployment (since they are our basic defense force), but under strictly verified limitation [strogo controlirano ogranichenie]. In this case we can say that the USSR has adopted a negative attitude, and the United States has adopted a positive stand. Last, but not least, the fifth question concerns verification and monitoring. Regarding all stands on verification and monitoring, the Soviet measures are more far-reaching. However, as regards this question we can consider the stands as equal.

This simple arithmetic shows that regarding the five aforementioned questions, the Americans should provide the solution for three of them, we should provide the solution for one and the last can be settled by joint agreement.

[Atanasov] Immediately following the signing of the Washington treaty and, even until a few months ago, the majority of commentaries inspired more optimism as regards the imminent signing of a treaty on the limitation of strategic offensive weapons....

[Pyadyshev] It is true that at that time, my own, and not only my own, opinions and statements were somewhat more optimistic. Today, obviously, the difficulties along the path of achieving a new treaty are more serious than we would have assumed.

The whole matter depends on the political goodwill of the U.S. Administration. It is evident that people in Washington are not eager to speed up the preparation of the new document.

[Atanasov] Is there no danger that following President Reagan's visit to the USSR, the Washington administration may lose interest in the treaty on strategic offensive weapons against the background of election campaigns and other "preoccupations?"

[Pyadyshev] Personally, I admit such a possibility, because during the last stage of the election campaign many things are determined by party interests. Nevertheless, even if the interest and energies of the Reagan administration should slow down following the Moscow visit, this will presumably be only a temporary process. Other, rather serious factors exist that should operate in favor of the development of Soviet-American cooperation.

[Atanasov] What can we conclude from the aforementioned statements? To put it briefly—the world situation is complicated today, and in certain aspects it has even deteriorated. Nevertheless, it is more favorable than it was a few years ago. From this point of view, if we should analyze the main trend in the development of international relations, we could say that the prospects for the future appear more optimistic.

Ponomarev on 'Confrontational' Western Policies
PM1105140388 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 8 May 88 Second Edition p 3

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA observer M. Ponomarev "Military-Political Review": "An Opportunity Not To Be Lost"]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] Now, at a time when the situation in the international arena has radically changed, when, thanks to the Soviet Union's efforts, the new political thinking is forging a path for itself in life with increasing persistency, and when appreciable changes have taken place in Soviet-American relations, it is evidently appropriate to recall the experience of cooperation between the countries that formed the anti-Hitler coalition. It is impossible to draw direct analogies, of course. But whereas in the war years the allies' cooperation was founded on the common aims of fighting a common enemy, today peoples in different countries and belonging to different sociopolitical systems have the same lethally dangerous enemy—the threat of nuclear war—and the same aim and main task—to eliminate this threat.

Faced with the danger of a universal nuclear catastrophe, all other contradictions dividing countries and nations in our interconnected, interdependent, and ultimately integral world must take a back seat. This is the essence of the new thinking that forms the basis of Soviet foreign policy and determines Soviet military doctrine. In relations between countries belonging to different social systems, the USSR's principled course has the aim of strengthening trust and mutual understanding in place of confrontation and an unrestrained arms race, expanding interstate cooperation, and bringing about a reduction in arms.

The practical results produced by this course are known to everyone. Geneva, Reykjavik, Washington, and soon Moscow; these are the landmarks by which this course is gauged. The Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles, the Geneva agreements on a political settlement of the situation around Afghanistan, the difficult but nonetheless intensive talks on a 50-percent reduction in strategic offensive weapons while observing the ABM Treaty for an agreed term, some progress in talks to ban chemical weapons and on nuclear arms tests.... All this could not possibly have even been imagined 3-4 years ago. The successful realization of our plans, the elimination of nuclear and other types of mass destruction weapons by the end of the 20th century, the creation of a comprehensive international security system, and, finally, the total exclusion of war from the life of society—this is the best memorial to those who gave their lives for the happiness and prosperity of all mankind in the deadly battle with fascism which ended 43 years ago and the supreme reward for the veterans of this battle.

It would be extremely naive, however, to assume that the new political thinking is firmly established everywhere and that the forces of reaction and militarism are withdrawing in panic along the entire front. On the contrary, these forces are still active, extremely active. And although even the thickest of skulls at last seem to be beginning to realize that they cannot achieve their aims by unleashing a nuclear war, they have no intention of laying down their arms. Social revenge is still the pivot of Western strategy and militarist programs, and the danger of war remains.

Despite all the differences in lifestyle, outlook, and political aspirations, Soviet people have never regarded the American people as their enemy. We would like to hope that the ordinary people of America do not see us as their enemy. It is no accident that, according to public opinion polls, up to 80 percent of Americans approve of trying to reach an agreement with the Soviet Union on strategic weapons. But those people who are disposed to maintain the tension and confrontation need an enemy—it is not important whether this enemy is real or a myth. Hence stem the fantastic fabrications about a "Soviet military threat," "the hand of Moscow," and "Kremlin intrigues." Hence the attempts to discredit the process of restructuring in the USSR, the development of glasnost, and democratization. And there is no method to which the opponents of peace and cooperation between peoples would not resort: Slanderous movies and inflammatory radio broadcasts, provocative military exercises such as "Red Flag" involving military servicemen dressed in Soviet military uniform and combat equipment with Soviet identification marks, deliberate acts of provocation along Soviet shores, false accusations of persecution of believers, and fantastic tales of "Soviet superweapons."

Possibly the most striking fact is that not only the yellowish or totally yellow press such as THE WASHINGTON TIMES, or radio stations which are inveterate liars, resort to these kind of methods. No, official administration spokesmen stretching up to the highest level balk at nothing to more firmly implant the "enemy image" in the minds of the American people.

Recently, for example, U.S. Defense Secretary F. Carlucci gave a long interview for the West German journal DER SPIEGEL. Having sung the usual panegyrics to SDI, he said that it was precisely the "Star Wars" program that had "brought the Russians back to the negotiating table"—those very same Russians from whom you can expect "a surprise attack." But now even well-versed experts like his predecessor Weinberger doubt the very possibility of such an attack by the Soviet Union. According to Carlucci, the aggressive intentions of the Russians, in whose defensive military doctrine he has not managed to find anything defensive, are revealed by the presence of "bridge-building equipment" in the Soviet Army.

What was the point of saying all these things? To lead readers to the conclusion that nuclear weapons are an "inalienable component of our allied policy."

The NATO bloc as a whole is committed to the policy of building up nuclear weapons. A recent session of the Nuclear Planning Group held in Brussels, in which defense ministers took part, once again emphasized that the NATO "strategy of deterrence" is based on both conventional and nuclear weapons. Moreover, the defense ministers contrived (there is no other word for it) to link measures to improve these weapons directly to... the Soviet-American Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles.

New mountains of weapons—nuclear and other types—and hopes pinned on force of arms in our time can only lead to the deadlocks characteristic of confrontational policy. But the originators of this policy are not discountenanced by this: On the contrary, they are encouraged. Now a lengthy article has appeared in THE WASHINGTON POST that is devoted to praise for the new strategic bomber created for the U.S. Air Force. It has been given the name B-2 and is built on the principles of so-called "Stealth" technology which, in the opinion of its creators, should make it possible for this aircraft to go undetected by enemy anti-aircraft defense systems.

The newspaper did not elaborate on how reliable this technology is. It did acknowledge, however, that, in addition to the Northrop Company, the Boeing aircraft concern and a number of other contractors to the Pentagon, which is not begrudging funds for the new aircraft, are involved in work on the B-2. This is the B-2's main attraction. Profit, increasingly huge profit for the military-industrial monopolies, is one of militarism's motive forces.

No, this is not the way out of the impasses created by confrontational policy. Fundamentally new approaches are needed here: not "Star Wars" but cooperation in peaceful space research; not military confrontation but loyalty to the oath to preserve peace which the participants in the meeting on the Elbe made one another; not confrontation but cooperation, the fruitfulness of which was proved in the war years. The opportunity for such cooperation must not be lost.

But as long as the danger of war persists, the Soviet Union will continue to do everything necessary to maintain its defense might at a level preventing imperialism's military superiority over socialism.

Kovalskiy Views Mediterranean Security

PM1105093188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 10 May 88 Second Edition p 4

[Article by N. Kovalskiy under the rubric "The Mediterranean—a Zone of Peace and Cooperation": "At the Meeting of the Continents"]

[Text] The new proposals on the Mediterranean put forward in Belgrade by M.S. Gorbachev have generated the liveliest interest in the world. Numerous comments note that they are of a comprehensive and realistic nature and, by expanding the framework of previous Soviet initiatives, reaffirm the USSR's desire to create an all-embracing system of international security. But opinions also include the following: "Why have the Soviets started talking about the Mediterranean again?" and "Are a dangerous background and secret machinations not concealed here?"

To those in whom such suspicion is inherent, a very simple idea has unfortunately not even occurred—that perhaps the Soviet Union really does want to see the Mediterranean a sea of peace and cooperation, and that it wants this because it accords with its vital interests.

Let me remind you that our country's historical ties with this region go back deep down the ages. To judge by N.M. Karamzin, people from Kievan Russia were seen in Sicily back in the 10th century. As Russian statehood became established, these ties multiplied and strengthened. The liberation struggle in a number of Mediterranean countries enjoyed Russian people's support. That was the case at the time of the Greek Ypsilanti and the Italian Garibaldi, and so it has been in our time—the memory of the present generation preserves many examples.

The main thing which interests us today is ensuring the security of the Soviet Union's southern borders and territory. In the past, attacks on Russia's Black Sea shores have been carried out via the Mediterranean, for instance, during the Crimean War. The enemy also tried to break through to the Black Sea via the straits during World War II. In 1986 and 1988, U.S. Navy ships twice invaded Soviet territorial waters off the Crimean coast and appeared near Sevastopol.

The tension in the Mediterranean region is explained primarily by the fact that the level of its militarization is constantly growing. An enormous quantity of various naval facilities are concentrated there, missile weapons are deployed there, and there is a ramified network of military establishments and bases, and not only and not so much those of Mediterranean states as of foreign states.

The United States is the main source of militarization. It intends to continue to build up its military potential in the Mediterranean. This stems directly from the U.S. Defense Department report to Congress on the budget for 1988 and 1988-1992. Do the existing situation and these intentions not threaten the USSR's security? And what about attempts to station the F-16 fighter bombers removed from Spain closer to Soviet borders?

I will note that the U.S. military activeness in this region does not affect the Soviet Union alone. As the U.S. researchers W. Arkin and R. Fieldhouse admit in the book "Nuclear Battlefields," it is also fraught with the danger of adverse consequences for the Mediterranean states. The risk connected with the presence on their

territory of U.S. military establishments, especially those with nuclear weapons, is very great in the atmosphere of the arms race and the improvement of the means for a retaliatory strike.

So two trends are clashing in the Mediterranean: on the one hand, an awareness of the danger of the foreign military presence, and on the other, the intention to consolidate the hold on foreign land. The second tendency is manifested in new forms inasmuch as the United States is trying to adapt to the changing situation. In particular, the Americans are trying more frequently to draw their NATO allies into their Mediterranean policy.

It must be said that they often succeed. The reasons for this obviously include the fact that the problems of the Mediterranean have begun to be discussed increasingly frequently in West Europe on the plane of the development of integration processes, which also include the military sphere. After all, it is no accident that there has, for instance, been an increase in attention toward "security questions" in the region on the part of various WEU organs.

The fact that the Mediterranean is potentially becoming an increasingly explosive region is obvious. It is not for nothing that the UN General Assembly 42d session noted that the situation there is in need of efforts to ease tension and reduce armaments. Of course, it is toward this that the Soviet initiatives put forward in Belgrade are aimed.

But it is not only military security problems which determine the USSR's interest in the Mediterranean. Our sea routes to all parts of the world have long passed through it. Economic exchanges with many Mediterranean countries are to this day by tradition effected with the aid of relatively cheap shipments by water. The volume of Soviet trade with the countries of the region is most substantial. In 1987 alone, it was over R13 billion. Naturally even this figure is not a limit, especially if you consider the outlined plans to expand the USSR's foreign economic ties. Under these conditions, great importance attaches to ensuring the safety of intensive shipping routes, especially in international straits.

Our country's cultural ties with the Mediterranean—that cradle of European civilization—also have deep historical roots. In the days of Ancient Greece, its culture made itself felt in the then Black Sea region. Christianity came to Russia from the East Mediterranean. In subsequent centuries, cultural exchange with the Mediterranean countries became firmer and more varied. In our day, we are learning an increasing amount about the modern culture of the Mediterranean peoples, and they are learning about our country's multinational culture.

There is still one more vitally important factor which makes us sensitive to what is happening in this region. After all, the Mediterranean and the Black Sea comprise a single hydraulic and ecological system. Specialists assert that as a result of a differential in the underwater relief, the Black Sea is fed by the waters of the Mediterranean. It is believed that some types of fish reach our shores from almost as far as Gibraltar. We should not forget the problem of sea water pollution. Indeed, weather in the European part of the Soviet Union is often determined by the air masses formed over the Mediterranean.

So in the age of interdependence, it would be unjustified to see the Mediterranean as a separate, isolated entity existing by itself.

It is no accident that the Helsinki Final Act assigns a prominent place to this region and links its problems closely with the all-European process as a whole. By virtue of the same correct logic, these problems were discussed in Madrid and are now being examined in Vienna. I believe, however, that all the diverse content of the documents signed by the 35 countries which took part in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe has in practice so far not been revealed fully enough with regard to the Mediterranean. Indeed, even at the present Vienna meeting, this is still not being done to the proper extent.

The new Soviet initiatives provide an obvious chance of getting going the question of turning the Mediterranean into a zone of security and cooperation. And here's why: These initiative are structured with a consideration for the program of the Brioni conference of foreign ministers of the Mediterranean nonaligned countries, the results of the Belgrade meeting of foreign ministers of the Balkan countries, and numerous statements by political leaders of the countries of the region and accord with the principles contained in the international acts elaborated by the world community, including with U.S. participation. In other words, our proposals consider the broadest balance of interests.

Here the Soviet side does not lay claim to the truth in a definitive form but invites a further joint quest for solutions. With a view to this quest, the USSR is again putting forward the idea of a conference of representatives of the Mediterranean and other interested countries.

The specific measures proposed by the Soviet Union have already undergone or are successfully undergoing practical verification. That includes primarily confidence-building measures which, in our opinion, it is essential to extend to the Mediterranean.

The following point is characteristic. The Belgrade initiatives are geared to making it easier, as far as possible, for the other side to make the decision to initiate talks. Proceeding from reality, that is from the fact that the United States, in contrast to the USSR, is not now prepared for the withdrawal of the navies of both states from the Mediterranean, the Soviet side proposed for the

time being taking a first step in this direction: as of 1 July this year freezing the number of ships and the potential of the military forces there and only later establishing limits for them. It would seem that for the United States, if it wanted to display political will, this way of putting the question presents an opportunity for giving a positive reply and demonstrating the readiness to reduce tension in the region. Unfortunately, however, this is not happening so far.

The Soviet initiative on confidence-building measures is also of a balanced, gradual nature. Thus, taking into account the fact that the coordination of these measures in the spirit of the Stockholm accords may require time, it is planned initially to engage merely in notification of the transfer of warships and of military exercises and to invite observers to them.

If you examine the Belgrade proposals in conjunction with the initiatives on Mediterranean problems with which the Soviet Union has come out earlier, you cannot fail to see that a varied, businesslike program for creating a zone of peace and cooperation at the meeting of the continents has been put forward for international discussion.

Many years ago Lev Tolstoy, upon whom the horrors of the Crimean War made a powerful impression, suggested his own disarmament plan. In justifying it, he wrote that "a question which has not been resolved by diplomats has still less chance of being resolved with gunpowder and blood." And he was right. Today, in the nuclear weapons age, it is all the more impossible to forget this.

Geneva Forum on Combating Nuclear Proliferation

PM1105074188 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 6 May 88 Morning Edition p 4

[Dispatch by own correspondent Yu. Kosinskiy under the "An Event Observed" rubric: "Solving the Problem Together"]

[Text] Geneva—Casually leaning against the handrail of a gleaming white yacht and clearly playing up to the camera, one of the dealers in the clandestine market in nuclear material that exists in the West gave an interview:

"Just call me Billy," he said with a grin when asked to introduce himself by the film director. Billy fluently reeled off the names of the clients with whom he often has call to do business: South Africa, Israel, and Pakistan figure among the main ones.

Billy's revelations are just one from among many episodes in the film made on the initiative of the Better World Society and the Geneva-based humanitarian environmental organization, the Bellerive Group. Such authoritative U.S. personalities as former President Jimmy Carter and former Assistant Defense Secretary Richard Perle bear witness to the existence of a widespread black market in nuclear material in the documentary called "Trade in Terror. I Am in the Market for a Nuclear Bomb."

The film, based on fact, lists the private companies, mainly West German, British, and Dutch, which circumvent the international Treaty on the Nonproliferation of Nuclear Weapons and their own national legislation and supply everything necessary to make a nuclear weapon to countries stubbornly intent on doing so—Israel, South Africa, and Pakistan.

The problems and anxieties connected with the dangerous loss of nuclear material, equipment, and technology capable of being used by individual states or international terrorist organizations to produce nuclear weapons that are touched on in the film is now the subject of a roundtable discussion in Geneva. The broad and representative range of participants in this event organized on the initiative of the Bellerive Group has brought together experts from the United States, the USSR, and the IAEA and representatives of the Geneva-based delegations of countries participating in the disarmament conference and the Pugwash movement.

Various opinions on the problem of the uncontrolled proliferation of nuclear material were expressed. But everyone drew the same conclusion: This dangerous channel must be blocked off as quickly and as reliably as possible by concerted effort. Attention was drawn here to the need to enhance the IAEA's role in enforcing international guarantees prohibiting the use of nuclear material for military purposes and preventing the nonproliferation of nuclear weapons.

"The conclusion of the Soviet-American Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles and American and Soviet efforts aimed at halving strategic offensive arms open up very broad prospects for ending the proliferation of nuclear materials and weapons," S. Aga Khan, organizer of the roundtable and president of the Bellerive Group, told your correspondent. "We hope," he stressed, "that this prospect will become even more realistic as a result of the upcoming Soviet-American summit. The Soviet Union does not experience the problem of the disappearance of nuclear material, which is connected in the West with the unfettered race for profits, but the struggle to prevent the spreading of nuclear weapons is a problem in which all states—nuclear and nonnuclear—and all countries—big and small—have an interest, since it involves preventing preparation for a nuclear war."

'Top Priority': INF, U.S. Relations, Summit

["Top Priority" program, presented by Pavel Kuznetsov with Dr Radomir Bogdanov and Dr Igor Malashenko]

LD1105174388 Moscow in English to North America 0100 GMT 11 May 88

[Excerpts] [Kuznetsov] How do you do, ladies and gentlemen. Welcome to "Top Priority." I'm Pavel Kuznetsov, your host, and here with me in the studio are Drs

Radomir Bogdanov and Igor Malashenko. Preparations for the Moscow summit are well under way and, as is often the case, the time—the period leading to such an important or even a milestone event—is usually uneventful with nothing turbulent or spectacular or unexpected taking place, with both sides mapping out their strategies and perhaps sounding out each other's position. But not this time. On Monday, senior members of the Senate decided against bringing the INF Treaty to the Senate floor, pending the resolution of some technical problems dealing with control and verification, and I think that the situation will clear up around the end of the week after the meeting in Geneva between Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze and U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz.

My first question is this: How serious is this problem? Will it be resolved in time for the Senate to ratify it before the beginning of the Moscow summit on 29th May? Dr Bogdanov?

[Bogdanov] Pavel, as usual you put a very serious question. You were always famous for good and serious questions, and now you are in your cup of tea again. [sentence as heard]

[Kuznetsov] I prefer coffee.

[Bogdanov] Yeah, you prefer coffee, okay. But, you know, this time I am a little bit worried. As you know, I always belong to the crowd of pessimists rather than optimists.

[Kuznetsov] Yeah, I know that. We all know that, Doctor.

[Bogdanov] You all know that. But this time I would like to be a little bit more cautious about the happenings at the American end. What worries me, you know, this is the last (?target) of this administration, and my impression is that people at the American end, people—I mean by people, decision-making levels in different corners of American capital—they are trying to capitalize, to make their own capital on that last (?summit).

For instance, you mentioned that Congress, the Senate decision...[Bogdanov changes thought], I believe it is a domestic game. It's nothing else. The Congress—the Senate—is trying to distract [as heard] from this President as much concessions as possible.

[Kuznetsov] What do they stand to gain by doing so?

[Bogdanov] By doing so, they have their petty games with this administration, with the budget, with some other things, with Nicaragua, with, after all, let me cite two: They have very strained personal relations, some of them at least, some senators, have very strained personal relations with this administration and with the President himself. And just they wouldn't like to please this President so much as to deliver to him on the plate the ratification of the treaty. [sentence as heard] They want to capitalize on that.

But this is their own domestic game. That is their business. After all, that is their right. They are in America; we are back here in Russia.

But what worries me, you know, the level of responsibility. It goes about too serious things such as the INF Treaty. [sentence as heard] That treaty, that historic treaty may become a hostage, a hostage again of American domestic policy. I do not, I don't know whether my friend Igor will agree with me.

[Kuznetsov] I'm going to find out myself. Dr Malashenko, do you agree with what Dr Bogdanov has just said that what is going on in Washington these days is a kind of settling of old scores, is something personal, or perhaps the Senate is keeping, is holding the Reagan administration on the hop in order to get some concessions, for example on the Presidential right, on the President's right to interpret international treaties the way he thinks fit?

[Malashenko] From my point of view, there is, of course, every possibility to resolve all the problems with the INF Treaty, if any, very quickly. I mean in Soviet-American relations. But I am not so much sure about the possibility to resolve all those problems within the United States domestically because there is no doubt that it is a domestic problem. And I am just really sorry that such an issue as an INF Treaty could be, you know, a subject for such a political game. [passage omitted]

[Kuznetsov] Well, you keep saying, both of you gentlemen keep saying that this is some kind of a political game. But I think that President Reagan gave the Senate a pretty good excuse for doing what they are doing right now by trying to reinterpret the ABM Treaty, and the Senate is against... and many Senators would not like the same thing to happen to the INF Treaty. Well, unless the administration comes and tells the Senate, well, we're not content with it, we are not pleased with it, it was signed by the previous administration; we have got nothing to do with it, and so on and so forth. There must be some logic.

[Malashenko] Well, sure there is some logic because you can find a pretext for any political move but the crucial problem was already mentioned by Professor Bogdanov. It is a problem of political responsibility. Okay, of course there is logic and pretexts and...

[Kuznetsov, interrupting]...Excuses.

[Malashenko]...Excuses and whatever, but we are talking about responsibility, and I don't think that it's quite a responsible position to reduce an INF Treaty....

[Bogdanov, interrupting] Igor, let me even say that it's not the problem of poltical responsibility: It's a problem of egoism, of American egocentricity. What I mean by that, what is domestically important for Americans is prevailing over all other issues of international dimension. You have another end of ratification in Moscow. Now I wonder what will be the reaction of our Supreme Soviet, which is also to ratify that treaty?

[Kuznetsov] Okay, let's wait and see, let's wait and see.

[Bogdanov, interrupting] What will be their reaction? But if you have two negative reactions, Pavel, I'm sorry—it's too important a question. If you have two negative reactions—one of the American Congress or Senate, or the other one of the Supreme Soviet—what will be outcome of all that? That's my problem.

[Kuznetsov] Pretty obvious.

[Malashenko] Well, next Sunday the Soviet Union starts withdrawing its troops from Afghanistan as part of the political settlement reached earlier this year under the auspices of the United Nations, and I think that the pullout—it is obvious to me, actually—that the pullout will lead to a healthier atmosphere in U.S.-Soviet relations and also will lead to a better international climate in general. That's without doubt.

The United States and the Soviet Union are co-guarantors of this accord, but, however, things don't strike me as being, as looking, optimistic or as being completely settled. 'n the first place, the Pakistani-based opposition is still resolutely against a peaceful transition of power in Kabul, and secondly, the administration keeps raising doubts in public as to our genuine goals in Afghanistan. We are being accused of trying to preserve our influence or to strengthen our political presence there not through military means but through diplomatic means. What does that mean? How do you assess this situation on the eve of the pullout?

[Malashenko] Well, I think that our objectives in Afghanistan will be demonstrated during the pullout and in the nearest future, and I don't think that it makes too much sense to waste our time just proving again our good intentions. [passage omitted] But talking about the position of the United States, you know I have a suspicion that probably a lot of people in Washington understand that this pullout corresponds to the long-term interests of the United States because they are also interested, you know, in more stable international environment. But, at the same time, there is as well a strong temptation for some of them, you know, to use some short-term opportunities, you know, to increase, some short-term cost for the Soviet Union, to, you know, to prevent the improvement of the international image of the Soviet Union, things like that....

[Kuznetsov, interrupting] Perhaps to put more pressure to bear on Moscow?

[Malashenko] Yeah, sure. And so there is a contradiction between this long-term interest and between these very short-term and pragmatic considerations.

[Bogdanov] Let's watch and see what will be the behavior of three parties. I mean Pakistani Government, mujahidin, and Americans. Why Americans? Because to my mind, so far as we know that no Pakistani Government, no mujahidin...

[Kuznetsov, interrupting] Rebels, call them rebels, that's simpler.

[Bogdanov] Rebels, okay, rebels, are able to move their fingers without American arms supplies. So we'll see who is really worth what, and what are worth the signatures on the Geneva documents.

[Kuznetsov] Going back to preparations for the summit, in April, the Reagan administration gave us a propaganda broadside by lecturing us on human rights and Afghanistan, and the President did that in his usual sermonizing way. Moscow responded with a warning that to turn human rights into a shouting match during the summit would poison the atmosphere. Not only that it could create a situation where further deals and agreements would become impossible, so later on in Chicago President Reagan tempered his rhetoric a little bit, softened his approach so to speak, and actually had a couple of good words to say about perestroyka and glasnost.

Now we all know that there are several rival factions within the administration with regard—who are split—over the issue, over the attitude to perestroyka and glasnost, the new Soviet policy under Mikhail Gorbachev. My question is this: Where does the Reagan administration stand right now? Is it still caught in-between, or does it find itself to the right of center, or does it pursue a path somewhere to the middle of the road or what?

[Malashenko] Well, I don't think that there is a coherent position within the Reagan administration right now on this subject. Well, one of the reasons I can understand myself because perestroyka is a very complicated process, and we in the USSR, I don't think that we now can agree on every aspect of perestroyka, for example. So quite a problem...

[Kuznetsov, interrupting] For ourselves.

[Malashenko] Yeah, but, at the same time, there is of course a political problem, because a lot of people cannot answer the fundamental question: Are they interested to have a new, restructured Soviet society—because it will be a stronger, healthier, and more vigorous society? And despite the fact that it probably would be...

[Bogdanov, interrupting] I would say more dynamic...

[Malashenko]...More dyanamic society.

[Kuznetsov]...Vigorous, dynamic, I think that's...

[Malashenko, interrupting] And despite the fact that for it, it's obvious that it would be much better neighbor, even from the United States' point of view, but still there is a lot of doubt and suspicion because they would prefer, of course, weaker Soviet Union: the Soviet Union, let's say, of the seventies, at least. And you know they are aware of, I think, of different trends within our society, and they have these old illusions that probably they can influence somehow the development in our society. So that's why and, at the same time, to get, so to say, the outcome of perestroyka and to put their bet on this outcome, at the same time, they have a temptation to help, so to say, some not very positive trends in our society.

[Bogdanov] Basically, I agree with Igor. What we witness now in the American politics, ups and downs, it's, to my mind, very simple. President has to satisfy different factions within his own political base. One day he meets one crowd, and he says: Damn the Russians. The other day, he meets another crowd, and he says: They are good boys. The next day, he will meet the mixture of both. He will say something in-between. My problem is: Where is the real President? Where is the real President? And I would judge them not by their word; unfortunately, words in American became senseless—I'm sorry to say that—but I will judge him by his deeds. That's my point.

[Malashenko] I think that probably there is really no consensus within the administration, and the President is, so to say, undecided.

[Kuznetsov] He will make another major speech in Finland on the eve of his arrival in Moscow.

[Malashenko] They want to show a consensus in the attitude towards the Soviet Union; they can't.

[Kuznetsov] Gentlemen, as time is running out on us, I'd like to ask you a few more questions. In the first place, we keep receiving at Radio Moscow, we keep receiving many letters from listeners asking us about the outcome of the Moscow summit, and in particular, whether or not there will be an accord on cutting by half the Soviet and American long-range offensive arms. So, without gazing at any stars, without consulting astrologers, could you make your predictions or make any assessments at this point?

[Bogdanov] Look, Pavel, frankly, if I could have my own astrologer in Moscow, I would easily go in to see him and consult him, and I don't think that's nothing wrong. [sentence as received] I'm sorry to say that.

[Kuznetsov] We don't have many astrologers in Moscow.

[Bogdanov] (?This is) unfortunate; that's my problem; that's my problem. But Pavel, I wouldn't like to look a laughing stock, just really few days or 2 weeks before the summit to make predictions.

[Kuznetsov] Some journalists, especially American journalists, in trying to make predictions don't seem to be very excited or very optimistic. They usually cite such an item as arms control being in disarray, like there's no ratification of the INF Treaty yet, there are many doubts, and President Reagan said that he was very uncertain that the START accord would be signed in Moscow. Now do we have to reconcile ourselves with the fact that the Reagan administration nears the end of its political career, its tenure, and that is why its political clout is waning? Is this the result of, perhaps the reason for, this not very optimistic state of affairs at this present moment?

[Malashenko] Well, first, I think, it's very difficult in general to find an optimistic American journalist before the summit. It's a sign of profession.

[Kuznetsov] He's pessimistic?

[Malashenko] Yes, sure, because it's easier to lose your job these days being an optimist, I think. Well, but talking seriously, well, okay, it's a simple historic fact so to say that this administration is approaching the end of its second term; so this is a fact. But the more important fact is, I think, that this administration wasted too much time in the past dealing with the Soviet Union, and now it really creates some problems. And this, that's why it goes through so much time pressure right now. And it could really play a negative role, not a major role, I hope, but still it's a negative factor.

[Kuznetsov] What is success or failure, Dr Bogdanov, when applied to a summit meeting?

[Bogdanov] This is a very difficult question. My point is that Moscow's summit is doomed to success. Do you know what I mean by that?

[Kuznetsov] Er, well, I...

[Bogdanov] I mean by that that the fact itself that you have the fourth summit meeting, it's already something in the history of the Soviet-America relations. And I would look at that meeting from more philosophical than pragmatic point of view.

[Kuznetsov] Your assessment, Dr Malashenko, before we round up this program.

[Malashenko] Well, that's right, because you really shouldn't have too exaggerated expectation and too specific—expectations before the summit. And the effect of this is really extremely important, because it's a part of a so to say normal process in Soviet-American relations. It shouldn't be regarded as something dramatic. That summit should be regarded as a normal fact in our relations, and this is very important, that it, it, became a norm, finally. [passage omitted]

United States & Canada

Shultz, Shevardnadze Continue Talks in Geneva

Shultz Arrives, Makes Statement

LD1105145688 Moscow TASS in English
1411 GMT 11 May 88

[Text] Geneva May 11 TASS—U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz arrived here today for talks with Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze.

Shultz said at the airport that relations between the United States and the USSR had made fairly large headway since the first summit in November 1985 in Geneva.

He also pointed to the high significance of his forthcoming talks with Shevardnadze to preparing the Moscow summit between President Ronald Reagan and General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev.

Shultz said that Shevardnadze and he would work on issues on the agenda and discuss many problems so that Reagan and Gorbachev in Moscow would be able to use their time most effectively.

Shevardnadze Arrival Reported

LD1105210388 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1700 GMT 11 May 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Talks between Comrade Shevardnadze and U.S. Secretary of State Shultz began in Geneva today.

[Correspondent V. Dmitriyev] This is the U.S. mission to the United Nations and other international organizations in Geneva. Eduard Amvrosiyevich Shevardnadze arrived here today for talks with George Shultz which, in the opinion of observers, will be the final stage in the preparations for the Moscow summit, which is planned for the end of May and the beginning of June. It is precisely this event which determines the significance, content, and goals of the current round of talks where questions are being discussed on working out a treaty on a 50-percent reduction in strategic offensive armaments, the state of affairs at the talks on banning chemical weapons, and regional conflicts. Also on the agenda is a discussion of problems connected with reducing conventional armaments and developing bilateral cooperation. Here is another important aspect: work on the documents which are due to be prepared for the forthcoming meeting between Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan. [video shows car drawing into gates of U.S. mission; Shevardnadze, with interpreter, exits from car and is welcomed by Shultz; cameramen crowd round the two men seated in discussion and chuckling over a sheet of paper]

[Begin recording] [Unidentified correspondent] Eduard Amvrosiyevich, for the "Vremya" program: What is the mood of the Soviet delegation?

[Shevardnadze] Businesslike and militant [boyevoy]. We must move forward. [end recording]

[Dmitriyev] As you are watching this edition of the "Vremya" program, the talks are being continued at the Soviet mission. Tomorrow there will be two more meetings between the ministers and a news conference.

'Businesslike' Talks Open

PM1205104588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
12 May 88 Second Edition p 5

[TASS Report: "Talks in Geneva"]

[Text] Geneva, 11 May—Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and foreign minister of the USSR, and George Shultz, U.S. secretary of state, opened talks here today.

In a businesslike spirit they examined practical matters connected with completing preparations for the Moscow summit.

The ministers noted efforts pursued to make sure that the upcoming Soviet-American summit will mark a long stride in improving relations between the USSR and the United States and broadening their mutual understanding and interaction, most notably in issues of vital significance to the fate of humanity.

It was pointed out from this standpoint that in spite of remaining differences in the positions of the sides on a number of issues of arms limitation and disarmament, certain progress has been achieved at negotiations for working out an agreement on a 50-percent reduction in strategic offensive arms in the context of compliance with the ABM Treaty, as signed in 1972, and on nonwithdrawal from it for a specified period.

Further joint steps on this issue were discussed.

Substantial attention in the course of the talks was devoted to looking for a rapprochement between the sides' positions on problems in which they still differ.

The issues touched upon in this connection included, in particular, those of an agreement in the making for observing the ABM Treaty, verification and counting procedures for long-range air-launched cruise missiles, verification and limitation arrangements for long-range sea-launched cruises, and mobile ICBM's.

Other military-political matters under discussion include the problems of limiting and discontinuing nuclear testing and those of a comprehensive ban on chemical weapons and of cuts in armed forces and armaments in Europe.

Issues related to the INF Treaty's ratification by both sides were discussed as well.

An exchange of opinions took place on problems of a humanitarian nature.

Participating in the talks are: on the Soviet side—A.A. Bessmertnykh, USSR deputy foreign minister; T.G. Stepanov, aide to the CPSU Central Committee Politburo member; V.P. Karpov and S.P. Tarasenko, members of the USSR foreign ministry collegium; experts and specialists; on the U.S. side—C. Powell, assistant to the President for national security affairs; R. Ridgway, under secretary of state; and other officials.

'Good Deal' Expected

LD1105115088 Moscow TASS in English 1029 GMT 11 May 88

[Text] Moscow May 11 TASS—TASS diplomatic correspondent writes:

An intensive Soviet-U.S. dialogue, which has been going on for a year and a half now, demonstrated that the Soviet Union and the United States can cooperate fruitfully and achieve a lot in the interests of their peoples, in the interests of the entire world community.

A good deal is expected from the Geneva, 26th meeting between Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze and U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz. At issue is actually reaching the home straight to the Moscow summit meeting.

The ministers are to do a large amount of work and discuss a wide range of issues: Problems of security and disarmament, regional conflicts, a set of humanitarian problems and bilateral relations.

It is desirable to move ahead in each of these directions as much as it will appear possible. This applies also to the elaboration of a treaty on slashing by half strategic offensive armaments, which remains to be a priority goal.

By the way, even if the efforts to attain this goal do not succeed prior to the Moscow summit meeting, it is desirable to exert every effort to approach it as close as possible.

The Soviet side takes consistent and vigorous efforts for the upcoming Moscow summit meeting to become a major landmark to follow up on the Geneva, Reykjavik and Washington line and to assert the triumph of the principles of the new political thinking over the position of strength policy in international relations.

First Meeting Ends

LD1105173788 Moscow TASS in English 1730 GMT 11 May 88

[Text] Geneva May 11 TASS—Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze and U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz ended their first meeting here today.

In a businesslike spirit they examined practical matters connected with completing preparations for the Moscow summit.

The second meeting between the leaders of the diplomatic services of the Soviet Union and the United States will take place at the Soviet mission tonight.

Talks Continue 12 May

LD1205140588 Moscow TASS in English 1351 GMT 12 May 88

[Text] Geneva May 12 TASS—Talks between Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee, minister of foreign affairs of the USSR, and U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz and Colin Powell, assistant to the U.S. President for national security affairs, were continued here today.

The talks still center on issues connected with helping matters forward in the field of a 50 per cent reduction in strategic offensive arms, and the elaboration of an agreement on compliance with the ABM Treaty. In this connection, various aspects ensuring a certain headway towards accords were attentively considered, with the participation of experts as well.

The two foreign ministers additionally discussed issues concerning a reduction in the armed forces and conventional arms in Europe, including those within the context of the current multilateral talks at the Vienna meeting. The delegations of the USSR and the USA were given instructions aimed at achieving balanced results in Vienna.

The two sides also continued to discuss matters pertaining to ratification of the INF Treaty, including coordination of some technicalities which had arisen.

In accordance with the established practice, the state of affairs in various parts of the world was analysed. Eduard Shevardnadze and George Shultz substantively considered the most topical regional issues, first of all those which arouse the concern of two countries and of the entire international public.

Despite the remaining divergences of views, the interlocutors hold their conversations, in the main, from the viewpoint of a search for possible ways of settlement which would meet the interests of all the parties involved in respective conflicts. Within this context they specifically discussed the state of affairs connected with a settlement in Afghanistan, in Central America, in the

Middle East, in the south of Africa, the situation in the Horn of Africa, the Iran-Iraq conflict, the Asia Pacific region, and some other issues.

Matters connected with human rights and cooperation in the humanitarian field were also the subject of discussions.

The two foreign ministers' talks are to come to a close tonight.

Changes in Soviet-U.S. Relations Evaluated

LD1105174988 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1050 GMT 11 May 88

["The United States Today" program, presented by Andrey Ptashnikov]

[Excerpts] The title of our broadcast speaks for itself, but you will understand that the short slot allocated for it makes it practically impossible to talk about all the processes going on in the United States. And so today we are going to dwell on just one of them, but perhaps the most important aspect: The position of official Washington on issues involving disarmament and Soviet-U.S. relations, for it is a well-known fact that relations between the two have a deciding influence on the international situation as a whole.

There is every reason to assert that clear changes for the better have begun to emerge here. What I have in mind is the signing in Washington of the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles and the Geneva agreement on resolving the situation surrounding Afghanistan, as well the lively contacts between the USSR and the United States in the areas of science, culture, and trade.

We all know that talks are now going on in Geneva on strategic offensive weapons. It has not been ruled out that a treaty on a 50-percent reduction in these weapons will be signed in Moscow during the forthcoming visit to our country by President Reagan. Hopes for this exist, although there are still more than enough obstacles along the road to their realization. And there are less than 3 weeks remaining before the U.S. President's visit to the USSR.

But even if the above-mentioned treaty is not signed in Moscow, I still do not think that that event is too far off. Incidentally, the progress of talks on this issue will be discussed at the routine meeting between Shevardnadze, USSR Foreign Minister, and U.S. Secretary of State Shultz which begins in Geneva today.

And so, as you can see, comrades, quite a bit has already been done. Positive shifts for the better in the approach of the U.S. Administration to resolving some of the most important problems of the modern age can be felt, although nonetheless it has to be noted, unfortunately, that they are clearly insufficient as yet. The new political thinking on which the policy of the Soviet Union is based has still not been met with the desired reaction from official circles in the United States. And there are more than enough examples to back that up. The Pentagon and the White House are continuing with their course toward implementing the notorious Strategic Defense Initiative, which remains one of the main obstacles along the road toward successful completion of talks on reducing strategic offensive weapons. There is still strong opposition in the United States to the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles. Opponents of this treaty have succeeded in ensuring that its examination by the full Senate as an object for ratification, which should actually have started today, has for the time being been postponed indefinitely, although to judge by the distribution of forces in the highest legislative body in the United States, the supporters of the treaty are in the majority. Whether or not they will be enough to ensure its approval will become clear in the very near future.

As for the U.S. President, he too—although it is true that he has now given up saying things like the USSR is the evil empire—nonetheless continues to advocate relations with our country being constructed from a position of strength.

The campaign of anti-Soviet propaganda is not dying away in the United States either. As before, it is aimed at intimidating Americans and at preventing any improvement in mutual understanding and the establishment of trust between the peoples of our countries. This indeed is the aim served by the latest brochure—Soviet Military Might—published recently by the Pentagon. [passage omitted]

Despite the anti-Soviet campaign which is continuing in the United States, ordinary Americans have begun to have a great deal more trust in our country. In December of last year, I was involved in covering the visit to Washington by Comrade Gorbachev, and I talked to many inhabitants of the U.S. capital and also to visitors from other towns in the country. When I asked whether they believed the Russians, not one, I repeat, not one of them said they did not. Two or 3 years ago such a reaction would have been simply impossible. Of course that does not mean that all Americans have the same attitude to us. There are still more than enough of them who are opponents and open enemies of all things Soviet. But, nonetheless, the process of establishing confidence has already begun, and that is an indisputable fact. And of course an extremely gratifying one.

And it is possible that it started up thanks to the consistent peace-loving course of the USSR, the policy of restructuring, glasnost, and democratization which is being implemented in the Soviet Union.

Soviet, U.S. Experts Discuss Relations
LD1005232688 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 10 May 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] A meeting of Soviet and U.S. experts on the issues of relations between their two countries has ended in Washington.

[Begin recording] [V. Dunayev, identified by caption] How to put an end to the cold war which has been going on for more than 40 years already between the United States and the Soviet Union? That was the topic of a joint 3-year research project by eminent U.S. and Soviet experts. Its results have been just made public in Washington. The U.S. side lists such specialists as former CIA Director William Colby, former Under Secretary of State George Ball, and former Senator John Culver.

The essence of the recommendations boils down to demilitarizing Soviet-U.S. relations, renouncing military interference in regional conflicts, refraining from selling most up-to-date weapons to the developing countries, limiting the numbers of military advisers, upgrading the role of the United Nations in resolving regional conflicts, and some other things.

I asked Arthur Macy Cox, leader of the project from the U.S. side, former State Department and then CIA official, whether the United States is ready for a treaty limiting strategic wars.

[Cox, speaking in English with superimposed Russian translation] Yes, I think so, although it will still take time to conclude it. But what we are speaking of here today is, perhaps, even more important than disarmament treaties: mutual trust opening the prospect of getting rid of the cold war.

[Academician G.A.Arbatov, identified by caption] The dispute has been moved onto a different plane—not that of mutual recriminations but of joint attempts to find the truth. And naturally, alongside with that there is a good deal of scepticism, doubts, lack of confidence—we do come across that. But what is important is to see that changes not in what has remained—and could not but remain from the past—but a lot has changed.

[Dunayev] And who was instrumental in moving it onto a new plane, they and us together?

[Arbatov] Naturally, restructuring and the entire policies and the new political thinking have played an enormous role, but what is important is that it was supported by economic factors and economic needs. The Americans have now seen for themselves that they are now incapable of continuing the old foreign policies themselves, the same arms race which is so expensive. And that is a very significant development, because, in the past common sense also dictated the need to put an end to the cold war, to put an end to the arms race. But now it is also substantiated by an economic and political necessity. That makes me more optimistic.

[Dunayev:] Thank you. [end recording]

Gorbachev Receives U.S. Schoolchildren
LD1105204488 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 11 May 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] In the Georgiyevskiy Hall of the Kremlin today, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and Raisa Maksimovna Gorbacheva met with a large group of Soviet and U.S. schoolchildren, who within the framework of the programs Children—The Creators of the 21st Century, and Direct Link, are striving to develop contacts and exchanges between the youth of the two countries and strengthen mutual understanding and confidence. Finnish schoolchildren also took part in the meeting together with their Soviet and U.S. counterparts. [video shows Gorbachev and Raisa entering room with group of unidentified people met by applauding children]

[Begin recording] [Gorbachev] Good afternoon, children!

[Children] Hello!

[Gorbachev] You are all united! That's good. [laughter from the children] In a few day's time we'll be here to meet President Reagan, so you have prepared the ground for the visit. [laughter] That's fine. I am pleased to see you, [Gorbachev points to someone in the hall] you whom I saw; I remember we met in Washington

[Raisa Gorbacheva] Our old friend, isn't it? [laughter]

[Gorbachev] Now I am pleased to see that our children have gotten together. That's very good. I am at your disposal, and Raisa Maksimovna, too.

[Young man, speaking in English, with superimposed Russian summation] On behalf of all the participants, Richard Ugard conveyed to Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev the Appeal to the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and the President of the United States, adopted in Helsinki at the beginning of May at the conference of Soviet, U.S. and Finnish schoolchildren. The Appeal expresses support for the efforts of the leaders of the two countries in establishing peaceful, constructive relations between the Soviet Union and the United States. [video shows Ugard reading appeal and walking over to hand it to Gorbachev]

[Gorbachev] What's your name?

[Ugard] Richard Ugard. [video shows Gorbachev nodding in approval and walking back to his wife and rest of group among whom Academician Velikhov can be identified]

[Gorbachev] I am both delighted and astonished. It seems that you have such big ambitions [laughter from schoolchildren], and, inasmuch as they are turned to the future and you—I have in mind the representatives here of the young people of the United States, Finland, and the Soviet Union—together see the future as peaceful, happy, and wonderful. I join with you in this. I am especially impressed by the fact that you are thinking very seriously about the future. In your judgments I see not only your own wishes, but indeed the wish of all young people, not only to preserve this world but to make it better. I wish you success. [applause]

Obviously it is the responsibility of the older generations to prepare and create the prerequisites for your plans to be realized. I am sure that your wishes will be present at the talks with the U.S. President. [applause] I want the youngsters from the United States and Finland to feel at home with us in the Soviet Union. I am confident that in our country you will encounter hospitality, friendliness, and a friendly disposition. I say this with complete confidence, for I am aware of the sincere strivings of the Soviet people. Our vast country has every reason to view the future with confidence. It needs peace, and our people are devoted to peace. You indeed know how dearly our people have paid for the present day to be peaceful.

I want to recall this, since 2 days ago was Victory Day. The victory over the frightful monster of fascism was gained by our joint efforts. When the times posed the question and there was no avoiding it, and when it was necessary to respond to the question, our peoples joined together. The present time is a time of great worries and great hopes. It also makes enormous demands on our peoples and above all on us, as the two great peoples, and on all of us. We must pool our efforts and surmount all difficulties and differences, while each remains himself. And in your speech, Richard, I noted the fact that, although you had indeed had differences, you worked out a joint program—a fine program.

This is a fine example for politicians. Regardless of whatever differences and real contradictions exist, it is necessary to reveal what unites peoples and above all to join together in the quest for lasting peace, put an end to the arms race, and turn all the resources and wealth of mankind toward developing human civilization.

I think that participation in this initiative does honor to you all. It does honor to our countries that the young people, in this case of our three countries, which you are here representing, are thinking of the future, of peace, and of uniting people. May these feelings, which have come to you in your young years, remain guiding ones in your lives forever. A happy path and a happy road to you! [applause]

[Interpreter] I would like to add just one word, says Raisa Maksimovna. [He points to Raisa who then speaks]

[Raisa Gorbacheva] I would like your sincere feelings to find real embodiment in life not only in your fine words but also in your deeds, and your actions, to the end. This should always be present in life. All the best! [applause and laughter]

[Unidentified young Russian] Mikhail Sergeyevich, this is a song which was written by Soviet schoolchildren, and it was written in two languages. So we shall play it for you. [video shows young man playing guitar and group of children singing in accompaniment; at end Gorbachev goes over to guitarist and thanks him]

[Gorbachev] The lyrics are very good and the music is fine! [voices saying thank you] Let's have our photographs taken! [end recording]

[Moscow TASS in English at 1833 GMT on 11 May adds the following: "The atmosphere was friendly and elated. The schoolchildren surrounded Mikhail Gorbachev and Raisa Gorbacheva. They put a great number of questions to Mikhail Gorbachev and were given thorough answers, and they wished him success at the coming meeting with President Ronald Reagan."]

Senate INF Ratification Maneuvering Discussed

'Poisoning' of Atmosphere

PM1105151188 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 11 May 88 Second Edition p 3

[Yu. Subbotin "Commentary": "Delay"]

[Text] It is now a matter of days rather than weeks before the Soviet-American summit takes place in Moscow. Both sides are finishing off their preparatory work. However, when talking about events on this scale the term "preparation" goes far beyond purely formal concerns. The creation of a favorable atmosphere for the upcoming talks that promotes better mutual understanding and a readiness to take new steps toward each another plays an important role here.

Unfortunately, the creation of such an atmosphere is in no way helped by the decision just made by the leaders of the U.S Senate to postpone discussion of the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles for a certain time. Robert Byrd, leader of the Democratic majority in the Senate, reported as follows: "In our view," he stated, "not only have problems which surfaced previously not been solved to date but new ones have arisen."

David Boren, chairman of the Senate Special Committee on Intelligence, provided corresponding clarification here. The "new problems" turn out to be the same very old discussion about "difficulties" connected with monitoring treaty observance.

However, the Soviet side's readiness to adopt any form of monitoring is well known to the American legislators. Something else is clearly involved here. Judging by Byrd's statements at a meeting with journalists, the Democratic leadership in the Senate, governed by electoral considerations in the current presidential campaign, intends to delay starting to debate the treaty. These actions are designed to attract the maximum attention to their own position and score as many points as possible from the Republicans, whose administration prepared and signed the treaty. Byrd, in particular, has intimated that the process of ratifying this very important agreement could be seriously complicated if President Reagan vetoes the commerce bill, which was approved by Congress on the Democrats' initiative.

Well, at least what lies behind the Democratic senators' actions is clear.

The stance adopted by the Republicans is surprising and worrying. Robert Dole, their leader in the Senate, has declared his agreement with the Democrats' decision, noting that the deferment of the debate meets with White House support. Paul Nitze, special adviser on arms control matters to the President and secretary of state, did not shed much light on the issue either.

"These problems are partially problems between different members of the Senate and to a certain extent problems between the executive and the Senate," he said, expressing the hope that the disagreements could be settled quite quickly.

Yet the fact of the matter is, that the actions of the U.S. Senate leaders are not only poisoning the atmosphere in the runup to the summit meeting but are putting new trump cards into the hands of the treaty's principal opponents, who, as it is, are not yet of a mind to lay down their arms. Their position was spelled out with absolute clarity the other day by U.S. General Rogers, former commander in chief of NATO Forces, Europe. The general is totally incapable of accepting the prospect of the loss of the intermediate-range missiles.

"Should we think that the forces that remain will instill fear into the Soviets?" he asks, himself supplying the answer, "Scarcely."

Whether they like it or not, the Senate leaders by their decision are thus playing into the hands of those who espouse the primitive mentality of intimidation.

Senators' Optimism Cited

PM1205113988 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 12 May 88 p 3

[TASS report: "On the Subject of Ratification"]

[Text] Washington, 11 May—U.S. President R. Reagan has met with Republican Senate leaders at the White House. Judging by the statements of the meeting participants, they discussed the situation which has taken shape as a result of the Senate leadership's decision to postpone the beginning of the debate on the treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles for an indefinite period. "We are on the whole optimistic," Senator Richard Lugar stressed in reply to a question as to whether the treaty will be ratified by the time of President Reagan's Moscow visit.

"Both Republicans and Democrats are showing goodwill and a desire to ensure the ratification of the treaty," Lugar went on. "There are problems which require clarification, but in our view the USSR and the United States have a mutual interest in getting the treaty ratified." Senator Alan Simpson, in turn, expressed the conviction that as soon as the outstanding questions are settled "the Senate debate will proceed smoothly and without arguments, and we will be able to move ahead swiftly."

According to White House spokesman Marlin Fitzwater, the questions concerning verification of the observance of the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-range Missiles which were raised in the course of Senate committee hearings on the treaty are of a "technical" nature and "must be swiftly and satisfactorily resolved." The U.S. Administration, Fitzwater said, "still believes that the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles can be ratified before the Soviet-American summit in Moscow."

SDI Organization Submits Report to Congress

LD1205084388 Moscow TASS in English 0728 GMT 12 May 88

[Text] Washington May 12 TASS—By TASS correspondent Igor Borisenko:

A report by the Strategic Defense Initiative organisation to the U.S. Congress was released here. It evaluates SDI in the context of the U.S. national strategy, describes the programme's objectives to create a large-scale anti-missile defense system, progress in the work on its main components, among them those which can be deployed in space.

In their attempt to prove that SDI is necessary, the authors of the report put into play a well-known set of anti-Soviet propaganda cliches: intimidate with a Soviet

"threat", discourse in vague terms about a certain challenge on the part of Russians, groundlessly accuse the USSR of violating arms control agreements.

The document alleges that the Soviet Union continues to be the main threat to the security of the United States and its allies. There is nothing new either in the recipe which is proposed to neutralize a Soviet threat: forging ahead with the modernization of strategic offensive armaments of the United States and also its allies—Britain and France. By the way, it is emphasized in the report that SDI by no means removes these programmes from the agenda. In other words, it is suggested sharpening the nuclear sword alongside the development of an anti-missile "shield".

Describing the goals and structure of SDI, the authors of the report underscore that "...the SDI program is oriented to protect options for near-term deployment of limited ballistic defences...." It is clear from the document that it is supposed to use at the first phase of the SDI realization space-based interceptors, the Eris Exo-Atmospheric Interception System, and also complex tracking, combat guidance, command and control systems. Space-based and ground-based laser systems, particle beam weapons and rail guns can be developed at the second phase to involve the deployment of a multi-tiered ABM system.

Along with the development of components for a large-scale ABM system with space-based ingredients, the authors of the report call for continued work in partnership with the U.S. NATO allies to develop the so-called tactical ABM system designed to combat intermediate- and shorter-range missiles. Ground-based missiles of these classes are known to be subject to destruction under the terms of the Soviet-U.S. INF (Intermediate Nuclear Forces) Treaty. However, the authors of the report categorically maintain that the need for a tactical ABM system still exists.

The report by the Strategic Defense Initiative organisation was published exactly at the time when a bill on military spending for the next fiscal year is under debate in Congress and this coincidence is by far not fortuitous. The authors of the report do not conceal discontent that Congress, despite massive pressure on the part of the White House, does not fully meet the requests for funding SDI.

Official on Human Rights Talks With U.S.

LD1005233488 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1229 GMT 10 May 88

[Text] Moscow, 10 May (TASS)—Discussion of human rights has become a norm in the framework of the Soviet-U.S. dialogue over the last year and a half, which is certainly making a contribution to the normalization of relations between our countries, said Aleksey Glukhov, first deputy head of the USSR Foreign Ministry Humanitarian and Cultural Ties Administration. Furthermore, he went on, a mechanism for consideration of humanitarian problems and for discussing human rights questions has basically been laid down.

Discussions on this theme between representatives of the USSR and the United States are going on continuously at several levels, Aleksey Glukhov noted in an interview with TASS correspondent Mikhail Svetlichnyy. This means an exchange of opinions at working level, and "roundtables", at which practising legal experts, doctors, psychiatrists, and representatives of the public take part. Thus, in April this year, Soviet and U.S. experts conducted thematic discussions on the following questions: international standards of human rights and legal mechanisms for guaranteeing them in the Soviet Union and the United States, the death sentence as an exceptional measure of punishment, principles for the organization of psychiatric assistance to the population, the regulating of travel into and out of the country, in accordance with the legislation of the USSR and the United States, and other matters.

One other very important level of discussions has emerged; namely, parliamentary. The proposal by the Soviet side to begin an exchange of views between the USSR Supreme Soviet and the U.S. Congress met with fundamental support on the other side of the ocean.

As for the substance of the discussions, the U.S. side continues to put forward claims above all with regard to Soviet citizens traveling abroad, Aleksey Glukhov said. Moreover, for some reason, only citizens of Jewish nationality are mentioned. It is curious that when, last year, several thousand Soviet Armenians received permission to leave for the United States to join their families, comments such as the following could be heard from the U.S. side: "How many more people of Armenian nationality does the Soviet side 'plan' for departure to the United States?" It is clear that there can be no planning in such a matter. Those people who announced their desire to leave, given the absence of obstacles to this, have received the corresponding permission.

New rules that were introduced from 1 January have helped to increase the number of people leaving. Specifically, last year over 18,500 of those previously refused permission to leave on grounds of security clearance were given the opportunity to leave the Soviet Union. "Secrets grow old and as they grow old, people are receiving the opportunity to leave. At the present moment legislation in the field of travel abroad is being renewed, and it may be said that a whole number of objections which were raised in the past will quickly be lifted," Aleksey Glukhov said.

Status of Lend-Lease Aid Repayments Explained

PM1105102388 Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY No 19 in Russian 7-13 May 88 (Signed to Press 5 May) p 8

[Untitled article by V. Sredin in response to reader's letter]

[Text] "I have heard that our country is still repaying lend-lease debts and interest? Is that so?

"I. Inyutin, Irkutsk."

Let us recall what lend-lease was. Essentially it was a system that existed during World War II, 1939-1945, whereby the United States loaned or leased arms, munitions, raw materials, food, and various goods, information, and services necessary for waging war to countries whose defense was considered by the United States to be essential to U.S. security.

It was the task of safeguarding its own national security and gaining real military-political and economic benefits that determined the lend-lease program.

American supplies were sent to 42 countries and as of 31 December 1945 were worth over $46 billion (13 percent of U.S. military expenditure). The Soviet Union's share came to $9.8 billion or around one-fifth of all supplies.

It should be noted that at the beginning of the war the Americans—just like, incidentally, the British—were in no hurry to carry out their numerous promises and assurances. It was only after the defeat of Hitler's armies at Moscow that the American and British Governments gradually began to partially fulfill their pledges concerning military supplies.

The thesis that the Soviet Union could not have overcome fascist Germany without lend-lease supplies has gained wide currency in American historical literature. The untenability of this claim is obvious. The available figures speak for themselves.

During the war the United States supplied the USSR with 14,450 aircraft, around 7,000 tanks, and 9,600 artillery pieces. During the last 3 years of the Great Patriotic War, Soviet industry annually produced more than 30,000 tanks and self-propelled guns and around 40,000 aircraft. The total supplies of industrial goods from the allies during the war amounted to only 4 percent of Soviet industrial output, that is, they met an insignificant part of Soviet requirements of the time.

As for food, the USSR was basically self-sufficient in this regard. It received on average 500,000 tonnes of grain, hulled crops, and flour per year under lend-lease, amounting to just 2.8 percent of the grain procurements inside the country.

When people talk about the American lend-lease program they often forget (sometimes deliberately) that lend-lease operated in both directions, as it were. The United States itself received goods worth something like $7.4 billion through this channel. The Soviet Union's contribution here was substantial: It supplied 300,000 tonnes of chrome ore, 32,000 tonnes of manganese ore, gold, furs, platinum, and a large quantity of other valuable goods and raw materials.

By the end of World War II, considerable quantities of lend-lease goods were in the process of being manufactured or lying in warehouses in the United States. Given this, it was proposed to the Soviet Union that it pay for them or pledge to pay for them on terms to be agreed prior to delivery of the goods. The Soviet Government assented to the additional supply of the aforementioned goods and to paying for them on credit terms. The relevant Soviet-American credit agreement was signed 15 October 1945. However, in January 1947, the United States unilaterally stopped supplies to the USSR under this agreement.

In the postwar years, the sides made repeated efforts to reach a settlement of their joint claims relating to lend-lease. Talks held between the USSR and the United States on this score in 1947-1948, 1951-1952, and 1960 were not crowned with success because the United States put forward patently excessive demands for compensation which were in marked contrast to the lend-lease payments made by other states. Britain, for example, was to pay over a term of 50 years compensation of $650 million in equal annual parts with 2-percent annual interest, as from 1951. The USSR was required to pay compensation of $1.3 billion over 30 years with an annual interest rate of 2.315 percent.

Talks were resumed in 1972, and on 18 October that year the Agreement on the Settlement of Lend-lease Payments, Mutual Aid, and Claims was signed.

The agreement provides for a global compensatory sum, including interest, of $722 million, which is to be be cleared by 1 June 2001.

This Soviet lend-lease debt is unpaid to date since the United States has failed to fulfill the basic requirement envisaged under the 1972 agreement, namely, the granting to the USSR of most-favored-nation status and export credits and guarantees. Given that the stance subsequently adopted by the United States in these matters is unacceptable to the USSR, the implementation of the agreement on settling lend-lease payments remains unfinished.

Reagan Endorses Bush as Presidential Candidate

LD1205103188 Moscow TASS in English 1000 GMT 12 May 88

[Text] Washington May 12 TASS—U.S. President Reagan Wednesday announced his official endorsement of Vice-President George Bush as a presidential candidate.

Reagan had promised not to back any of the Republican presidential hopefuls until it became clear who the party's nominee would be.

This happened two weeks ago when Bush secured the number of delegate votes at the forthcoming Republican convention needed to seal his nomination.

The delegate selection process is still under way, but 1,344 people to attend the New Orleans convention have already committed themselves to voting for Bush, as compared with 1,139 votes required for nomination.

Moreover, there are simply no more rivals left for Bush in his party. All of those who went into the race together with him have since quit it.

The last to bow out was TV evangelist Pat Robertson, a favorite with a significant part of the Republican right wing, who said Wednesday he was prepared to give Bush any support he could use.

Reagan's aides say he's going to begin stumping for Bush following the Soviet-U.S. summit in Moscow.

Dean Rusk Interviewed by IZVESTIYA

PM1105154188 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 7 May 88 Morning Edition p 5

[Own correspondent A. Shalnev report on interview with Dean Rusk: "The Dean Rusk Formula"]

[Text] Athens, Georgia—"Would you talk about something you have never talked about before?"

Dean Rusk merely smiled at this. But it was clear to me that it was a futile request, one that I had made almost automatically, as any of my colleagues would have done on visiting a man who was U.S. secretary of state for 8 years—moreover, at a time of complex and infinitely dangerous events that have made a clear and lasting impression on international relations, above all on relations between the Soviet Union and the United States.

He was secretary of state in the Kennedy administration, and when the latter perished, he managed to keep his post—a rare thing when there is a change of power—under the new president, Lyndon Johnson. The invasion of Cuba in the Bay of Pigs, the Caribbean crisis, the conclusion of the treaty banning nuclear weapon tests in three media, the beginning of aggression in Vietnam—it all happened under Rusk, and he had a hand in it all, although his role was not equally active and intense in each case.

Now he is retired. "Semiretired," Rusk corrected me as we talked in the International Law Center at the University of Georgia, the center that bears his name. "Semiretired" means that he is not always able—either through illness or because he is tired—to receive those who ask for a consultation. He gives consultations free of charge, "unlike Henry Kissinger"—he pronounces the name of one of his successors in the post of secretary of state in a distorted manner. Intentionally, it seemed to me—in order to express his displeasure and even, perhaps, disrespect for the man who has made a business, and a considerable one, out of the experience, knowledge, and acquaintances acquired during his years in the top diplomatic post.

"And your experience," I asked, "what does it tell you? Looking back now, would you have done anything differently from the way you did it when you were at the head of the State Department?"

"Our biggest mistake was the Bay of Pigs. Our biggest disappointment was that we were unable to finish the Vietnam war while we were in power. My greatest satisfaction is that we were able to avoid using nuclear weapons. It is important, very important that this should continue to be the case. Nuclear war must not take place, no one can ever win a nuclear war.

"I believe," Dean Rusk continued, "that the Cuban crisis taught us that, and it was then that we all realized that nuclear war must not be permitted. I recall something Mr Khrushchev once said. He said that if a nuclear war breaks out, the living will envy the dead. A wise remark. Both sides emerged from the Cuban crisis with a clear understanding that such crises, whose consequences are exceedingly dangerous, must be prevented. But the question is: Does everyone see this now and will everyone see this in the future? I have this idea of setting up a special commission which would have on it a Soviet, U.S., French, British, and Chinese expert...."

"At what level?"

"A very high level. The committee's function would be to inform political leaders taking up office about the monstrous consequences of the use of nuclear weapons. The committee would make sure the leaders knew that nuclear weapons are not just artillery shells, bombs or missiles, and that the emergence of nuclear weapons has radically changed the international situation.... I am resolutely in favor of any efforts to reduce nuclear armaments. If someone can demonstrate to me that there exist methods of verification which will mean that people will not be able to conceal weapons somewhere in the Utah salt flats, or in Siberia, or in Yunnan Province in China, then I will say: I am in favor of the total elimination of nuclear weapons, not just their reduction."

It is an interesting thesis. And here is why. Recalling how the Moscow treaty banning nuclear weapon tests in the three media was elaborated, Dean Rusk observed: "When the talks began, the intention was that it would be a complete ban, that is, not only in the atmosphere, under water, and in space, but also underground. But we reached an impasse and were unable to solve the question of how many inspections to carry out at sites so that nuclear explosions could be distinguished from, let's say, earthquakes—either 8-10 inspections, as we proposed, or the 2-3 you would accept. Then Mr Khrushchev said: Well, let's ban tests in the atmosphere, under water, and in space first, and leave underground tests for later. And that is what we did."

Then something unexpected occurred in our conversation. Richard, Dean Rusk's son, interrupted.

"Pop," Richard said (yes, "pop," not "father"), "hasn't your own attitude toward a complete test ban changed since you left the State Department?"

"It has changed," Dean Rusk admitted. "Before, I was against an all-embracing ban on nuclear tests because it would have meant dismantling our military laboratories which organized and conducted the tests. Moreover, I regarded the tests as extremely important in terms of being able to know whether our nuclear arsenal was effective. But now I have abandoned this approach and I am prepared for an all-embracing ban.

"When you begin to realize the fundamental fact that you cannot wage a nuclear war and that, consequently, there is no need to compete in the creation of nuclear armaments, when that dawns on you, you begin to work more quickly on agreements and treaties," Dean Rusk said, obviously referring not only to himself, particularly as he was talking about current rather than past events—about the conclusion of an agreement on a 50-percent reduction in strategic armaments. Rusk is wholly and completely in favor of the treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles and against any changes being made to this historic document, something certain people on Capitol Hill are threatening to do. But he is not too optimistic about an accord on strategic armaments.

"I believe," the former secretary of state said, "that it will take far more time to complete work on this treaty than the present administration has left. Maybe I am wrong. I very much hope I am wrong."

"What is stopping us? What is the snag?"

"Well, many things," Rusk said, but he did not specify. But judging by the remark: "I would not want to criticize my own government in front of a foreigner," made a little later on in the conversation, presumably, in his view, one of the reasons, at least, is the Washington Administration's position.

And it seemed to me that Rusk sees the "Strategic Defense Initiative," which he described as "politically inflammatory, militarily senseless, economically absurd, and ethically loathsome," as the culprit.

"What is to be done about SDI?"

"Personally, I believe that the further the research goes, the clearer it will become that SDI is technically unrealistic."

"Another topic: What do you think about the changes that are apparent in President Reagan's personal attitude toward the Soviet Union? Only recently he was publicly calling us the 'evil empire,' but now he is entering into agreements which would have appeared inconceivable 2-3 years ago. Are they genuine or opportunist changes?"

"Yes, there have been changes. I have noticed them. Many people have noticed them. I welcome the changes. We must all display caution and restraint in hostile rhetorical attacks on one another. I would like to see passions moderated. It is dangerous when it goes on too long: You start to believe your own rhetoric. I think Reagan has changed his approach partly under the influence of Secretary of State Shultz and partly because he has been thinking more about the problems our countries are encountering. Because he is more deeply conscious than before of the immense gravity of the problems. I believe the President has also perceived the changes in the mood of the Soviet leadership. Perhaps both of them—Reagan and Gorbachev—want to take advantage of the changes in one another. But we cannot know for sure."

...There were no sensations, but, to tell the truth, I did not regret that. In the end, sensations are not the chief ingredients of relations between countries, and history does not follow a path of sensations. The simple formula is: "Nuclear war must never be waged." Not a hint of sensationalism. But for the man sitting facing me in a comfortable leather armchair, this formula is perhaps the most valuable discovery of his long and sensation-packed life.

'Goodwill' Evinced at CBS Filming of Warship

PM1205141188 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 7 May 88 Second Edition p 3

[Report by own correspondent Captain 3d Rank V. Pasyakin: "CBS on the 'Ochakov'"]

[Text] Black Sea Fleet—U.S. CBS television network correspondents P. Blapp, D. Martin, K. Kennit, and M. Uill [names as published] have visited the big antisubmarine warfare ship "Ochakov", where they were able to film and talk to the crew. The correspondents inquired about the progress of restructuring in the country and the Navy, the sailors' attitude to restructuring, and the tasks tackled by the crew. Afterward, CBS correspondent David Martin answered a number of questions:

Question: What impressed you most on the ship?

Answer: Speaking as one who has served in the Navy, the cleanliness above and below deck.

Question: What was your rank in the Navy?

Answer: I was an officer aboard a destroyer, and I am therefore well aware of how hard it is to be away from home for long periods.

Questions: What impression did you gain from your conversation with the ship's commander?

Answer: In my view, the commander is an able man....

Question: Did you manage to do what you set out to do on the "Ochakov?"

Answer: Yes, but I would also like to see the ship at sea, on the move, take a look at how your deck aircraft operate at sea.

Question: When will U.S. television viewers be able to see the film?

Answer: No specific date has been set. Either during the Moscow meeting between Ronald Reagan and Mikhail Gorbachev, or after....

Question: Will it be one or several reportages?

Answer: There will be a series of reportages about the Soviet Armed Forces. We have already filmed in an Air Force and a Ground Forces unit.

Question: What will your program be called and how many Americans will be able to watch it?

Answer: So far there is no title. It will be watched by some 20 million Americans.

Question: Will this film be shown in other countries?

Answer: Obviously, the English will also see it. And the USSR State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting will receive a copy.

Ending the interview, David Martin wished the Soviet sailors bon voyage.

And what were the Soviet naval servicemen's impressions from the CBS correspondents' visit?

We did not hear any provocative questions from the U.S. television journalists, which, to be honest, we had expected. Their questions were characterized by goodwill and a desire to learn the truth about the life and work of Soviet naval servicemen. We hope that they will convey this truth to the American citizens.

Everything was simple, natural, without prejudice. The Americans inquired about the organization of sports activities at sea and praised the excellent state of the ship, which was good to hear....

It remains to be hoped that the film shot by CBS will serve the further improvement of relations between our countries.

Arbatov Addresses Soviet-Canadian Conference

LD1105232988 Moscow TASS in English 2245 GMT 11 May 88

[Text] Ottawa May 12 TASS—The regular Soviet-Canadian roundtable scientific conference has been held in Toronto, Canada's biggest city.

In the course of two days prominent representatives of the USSR's and Canada's academia and public circles discussed problems of preserving peace and international security, of disarmament, the world economy and also prospects for a further development of bilateral Soviet-Canadian cooperation.

Addressing the conference, Academician Georgiy Arbatov, director of the Institute of the USA and Canada, head of the Soviet delegation, spoke about the current processes of perestroyka, the drive for more democracy in public life and more openness, the latest initiatives of the USSR aimed at improving the international situation.

The conference has attracked much attention of the Canadian mass media. The TV interview with Academician Arbatov, in which various questions in connection with the revolutionary restructuring of Soviet society were discussed, was broadcast by the CBC and CTV television companies, that country's leading ones.

China

Televised Documentary Shown on China's Reform

OW1105202788 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0100 GMT 4 May 88

[Text] The Soviet Central Television station will show for the first time a documentary "The New Look of China's Reform" in its No 1 program on 3 May. In the film, (Tulasemir) and (Bykov), reporters for Soviet television and radio stationed in Beijing, introduce the situation of China's current reform. The film emphatically reflects problems in China's economic reform. The author of the film also discusses issues pertaining to the normalization of Soviet-Chinese relations and the expansion of Soviet-Chinese cooperation in various areas. The film will be relayed on 3 May by an Orbita satellite, which can be received in regions in north, northeast, and northwest China.

Moscow Notes Increasing Youth Exchange

OW1205075188 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0100 GMT 4 May 88

[(Beliyev) commentary]

[Excerpts] In a congratulatory message to the 12th National Congress of the Chinese Communist Youth League [CYL], the Komsomol Central Committee says: In the name of all Komsomol members, the Central Committee of the Soviet Leninist Communist Youth League extends warm greetings to the delegates of the 12th CYL National Congress and all CYL members, and best wishes for success of the congress. All Komsomol members, as well as young men and women in the Soviet Union [words indistinct] the CYL's efforts to mobilize young people in China in actively taking part in the socialist modernization drive and the cause of socialism

and peace in the world. In accordance with the resolutions adopted by the 20th National Komsomol Congress, the Leninist Communist Youth League stands for developing friendly ties between the Soviet and Chinese youths, striving to expand contacts in all fields, and promoting mutual understanding between the youth organizations of the two countries.

In this connection, (Beliyev), an official of the Komsomol Central Committee, says:

The Soviet and Chinese youth organizations share many common points in their activities which are related to economic and social reforms in the two countries. The 20th Komsomol National Congress was held in Moscow last April, and the 12th CYL National Congress is scheduled to open on 4 May this year. The issues to be discussed at the CYL Congress are similar to those already discussed by Soviet Komsomol members at their congress. [passage omitted]

Soviet Komsomol members will watch with great interest the proceedings of the 12th CYL Congress to be opened on the anniversary of the famous May 4th Movement. We wish the 56 million CYL members greater successes in their activities. [passage omitted]

The Soviet Committee for Youth Organizations will soon complete preparations to receive a delegation from the All-China Youth Federation led by (Liu Zhengzong), the first to visit the Soviet Union in 25 years. This is in return for the visit to China by the Soviet Committee for Youth Organizations last December. Thus, the largest youth organizations of our two countries have restored their ties. During the Soviet youth delegation's visit to China last year, the two sides also reached agreement on exchange of delegations and direct contacts between student organizations. Soviet and Chinese student delegations will exchange visits this fall. Tourist exchange has also developed smoothly. A Soviet youth cruise returned to Vladivostok a few days ago after the 260 young tourists visited Shanghai where they were given a warm reception. We are convinced that contacts between the youth organizations of our two countries will increase and become more diverse year after year to the benefit of strengthening the friendship between Soviet and Chinese youths.

Magazine Editor Vasilyev on Visit to China

OW1205083188 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 1400 GMT 6 May 88

[Report by station correspondent (Yelizov) on his 30 April interview with Vasilyev, editor of (SOVIET PICTORIAL), on Vasilyev's recent visit to the PRC]

[Text] Manuscripts and samples of some compiled magazines were piled on Vasilyev's desk. (SOVIET PICTORIAL) is a magazine published in 22 languages, including Chinese. Vasilyev showed me three notebooks full of sketches made during his visit to China.

He said: I visited China as a member of the delegation of the Union of Soviet Societies for Friendship and Cultural Relations With Foreign Countries. Our itinerary covered several cities. We started with Beijing, then Shanghai, and finally traveled to Harbin, Shenyang, and Dalian in northeast China. I think the housing starts may very well symbolize China today. The booming construction industry is a direct result of China's economic reform. The economic reform has helped to solve many urgent issues, has created many job opportunities, and has changed the way of life in the countryside. Of course, problems do exist. However, the progress of reform [word indistinct] and its effects can be seen everywhere in China.

I asked Vasilyev: In your recently published article, you said that your conversations in China often touched on the changes taking place in the Soviet economy. Those who had conversations with you were particularly interested in these things. What do you think is the reason?

Vasilyev replied: I think the reason lies not only in the traditional friendship between the Soviet Union and China, but also in the similarity between the tasks that have to be tackled by both countries. Therefore, our Chinese friends raised many questions about the economic reform in the Soviet Union. Of course, our ways of handling the economic reform are different; but the problems to be solved are basically the same. This proves that it is beneficial and necessary for us to expand contacts and exchange experiences in all fields of endeavors.

I commented that one will generally have some understanding of the country which one has visited. As a matter of fact, this is usually the case. Sometimes one gains a better understanding of the country. Could you please cite some instances of this from your recent visit?

Vasilyev said: There are many examples. The following is one: I knew that China does a very good job in the study of the Russian language. Nevertheless, I was surprised to find our hospitable hosts frequently conversing with us in Russian. This was so in almost every meeting. There are now more than 600,000 people studying Russian in China. I think this also proves China's interest in our country. Those Chinese friends who conversed with us showed an interest in not only the details of daily life in our country, but also in the world outlook, views, and value system of the Soviets. One of the means to understanding all these things is the Russian language. I have seen with my own eyes Chinese people who are familiar with and extremely fond of the works of modern Soviet writers and who welcome the expansion of cultural contacts.

Dmitriyev Comments on Current Border Trade

OW1205080588 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0100 GMT 8 May 88

[Station observer Dmitriyev commentary from the feature program "Advance Along the Road Toward Friendship and Cooperation": "Expand Border Trade"]

[Text] The rapid development of Soviet-Chinese trade in recent years is an important aspect in the improvement of Soviet-Chinese relations. It has also expedited the development of cooperation in other areas. Soviet-Chinese trade today has reached R1.8 billion [annually]. In terms of annual growth, Sino-Soviet trade is one of China's highest in its trade with other countries. However, the current level of Soviet-Chinese trade does not fully tally with the two countries' capacities and needs. This is a conclusion reached by both Soviet and Chinese experts. This is why they have been exploring new ways of economic and trade cooperation.

One of the ways is to expand and diversify the border trade, authorizing border areas' autonomy in conducting direct barter trade with their adjacent areas without having to consult with their respective central authorities. For this purpose, special foreign trade corporations have been established in both the USSR and China to handle and mediate problems regarding the development of border trade.

For example, the Eastern USSR-Xinjiang Trade Corporation is responsible for organizing the trade between Soviet republics in Central Asia and China's Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region. I have had talks with Comrade (Kharukin), manager of the corporation. He said: The border trade between Xinjiang and Soviet republics in Central Asia, the Kazakh Republic, the Altay border areas of the RSFSR, the Krasnoyarsk border areas, and Kemerovo Oblast began in the latter half of 1986. Since then, fairly good results have been achieved in this regard. The turnover in 1987 was approximately R12 million. We can see that the turnover is growing fairly steadily. The Eastern USSR-Xinjiang Trade Corporation and the Chinese Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region Import-Export Corporation have signed many trade contracts and have successfully taken turns sponsoring two export commodity exhibition and sales fairs—one in Alma-Ata and the other in Urumqi.

Comrade (Kharukin) said that another exibition and sales fair will open in Tashkent on 10 May.

Asked to elaborate on the exhibition and sales fair, Comrade (Kharukin) said: The export commodity exhibition and sales fair will be held from 10 to 17 May. This will enable local trade representatives to show samples of their commodities and examine commodities furnished by Chinese trade representatives. The Soviet side will display and sell chemical fertilizers, rolled steel, raw hide, silk cocoons, wool, satin, women's scarfs, musical instruments, fish products, and so forth. We are making great efforts to provide more kinds of durable goods, such as refrigerators, clocks and watches, and cameras. Soviet republics in Central Asia, such as the Tajik Republic, will also display automobiles, motocycles, and bicycles. To our knowledge, China will also provide more kinds of goods. In addition to such traditional goods as garments, textile goods, tea, and goods for daily use—all of which are very popular on the Soviet market—Xinjiang's commercial departments also plan to exhibit modern industrial goods such as computers. (Kharukin) concluded that, during the fair, negotiations will be held and mutually beneficial new contracts will be signed.

As we can see, Soviet-Chinese border trade has a bright future. What is more important, in addition to its economic functions, border trade can also serve as a channel through which people of our neighboring countries can get in touch with one another directly. From these direct contacts they can achieve mutual trust, understanding, and respect for each other's interests. In these contacts, the traditional and friendly contacts between Soviet and Chinese people can also be strengthened and developed.

Mulatov Views Far East Struggle for Peace

OW1205082688 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 1400 GMT 6 May 88

[Station observer Mulatov commentary]

[Text] The Soviet Union attaches great importance to strengthening security and creating a lively atmosphere of neighborliness in the Far East and the entire Asia-Pacific region. Soviet leader Comrade Gorbachev held separate talks with DPRK Foreign Minister Kim Yong-nam and Fuwa, chairman of the Communist Party of Japan, this week. During their talks, they specifically touched on the issue of eliminating the nuclear threat and ensuring security in the Far East. The following is station observer Mulatov's comments on this matter:

In the Far East there is great potential for building up the forces of peace. Objectively, this is determined by the following factors: The largest socialist countries in the region are neighbors. Besides the Soviet Union and China, there are two other socialist countries in the region: Democratic Korea and Mongolia. In the nonsocialist countries in the region, particularly Japan and South Korea, the antiwar political forces striving for the elimination of U.S. nuclear weapons deployed in the Far East and for good-neighborly relations with the Soviet Union, China, and other socialist countries are actively at work. These are all good factors. The Soviet Union's famous Vladivostok peace initiative, in conjunction with the constructive proposals put forth by Democratic Korea and Mongolia and helped by China's active participation in defending the cause of peaceful coexistence in the region, provides a broad opportunity for completely eliminating military threats and promoting mutually beneficial peaceful cooperation among countries of different socialist systems in the Far East.

When Japanese Foreign Minister Uno visited China recently, the Chinese side indicated that China was determined to settle all bilateral and regional issues in the spirit of peaceful coexistence. In short, socialist

countries will not do anything to obstruct the development of peaceful coexistence in the Far East. It is regrettable that the United States and its military and political allies in the region are not the same. They still cling to the strategy of a militarist bloc and are not ready to abandon their confrontation mentality. Because of this, there remains on the Korean peninsula a dangerous breeding ground for tension. Because of this, Washington encourages Japan and South Korea to increase the strength of their armed forces. It has been learned that U.S. Deputy Defense Secretary Taft will visit Tokyo and Seoul next week to hold talks with Japanese and South Korean leaders on the question of more contributions to the defense of the so-called Asian outpost of the West.

The Soviet Union is firmly against the assumption of a militarist attitude toward the situation in Asia and the Pacific. During their talks, Comrade Gorbachev and Fuwa, leader of the Communist Party of Japan, repeatedly emphasized this point. The Soviet Union firmly supports the proposal of Democratic Korea on eliminating the breeding ground for military threats, especially the nuclear threat, on the Korean peninsula. Practice has proved that there is great potential for the Soviet Union and China to coordinate in strengthening lasting peace and good-neighborly relations in the Far East.

Northeast Asia

Rogachev Receives Japanese Socialist Doi

LD1105025088 Moscow TASS in English 2206 GMT 10 May 88

[Text] Moscow May 10 TASS—Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Igor Rogachev today received a delegation from the Socialist Party of Japan [JSP] led by Takako Doi, chairperson of its Central Executive Committee.

The delegation is in this country at the invitation of the CPSU Central Committee.

During the friendly and constructive conversation which took place, Doi spoke highly of her meeting with Mikhail Gorbachev, describing it as extremely substantive and useful.

The conversation also discussed measures to scale down military confrontation in the Asian-Pacific region and settle regional conflicts, as well as a number of specific aspects of Soviet-Japanese relations.

The sides spoke out for developing relations between the USSR and Japan in the interest of the people of both countries and for the sake of improving the situation in Asia and the Pacific.

Delegation Departs

LD1105221688 Moscow TASS in English 1825 GMT 11 May 88

[Text] Moscow May 11 TASS—The delegation of the Socialist Party of Japan has left Moscow for home today.

From May 7 to May 11 the delegation of senior officials of the Socialist Party of Japan led by Takako Doi, chairman of the Central Executive Committee of the Socialist Party of Japan, who arrived in the Soviet Union at the invitation of the CPSU Central Committee, met with secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Anatoliy Dobrynin, the vice-chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers Vladimir Kamentsev. Japanese socialists also had meetings at the USSR Foreign Ministry, the USSR Defence Ministry, the USSR Ministry of Fisheries, the Soviet Women's Committee, the Union of the Soviet Societies for Friendship and Cultural relations With Foreign Countries and the Economics Institute of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR. The delegation made a trip to Leningrad where it was received by alternate member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee, First Secretary of the Leningrad CPSU Regional Committee Yuriy Solovyev.

Biryukov Analyzes Remarks by Japan's Okuno

LD1105210788 Moscow TASS in English 1647 GMT 11 May 88

[Text] Moscow May 11 TASS—TASS political news analyst Askold Biryukov writes:

Minister of State and Director-General of Japan's National Land Agency Seisuke Okuno is in the centre of the scandal that, after a lull, flared up again. His statement of April 22 that Japan had not been an aggressor in the years of the Second World War, and that all its military operations, including the seizure and occupation of China and of countries of South East Asia and other territories had been merely "acts of self-defence" and pursued the aim of "liberating Asian countries of the colonial domination of the white race", caused an uproar. Faced with protests abroad and from Japanese opposition parties, they in Tokyo tried to hush up the scandal. Okuno himself repented and admitted that in the past war Japan had inflicted vast calamities on neighbouring countries.

And now an about-face again. Speaking in parliament, Okuno said that Japan had, allegedly, "no aggressive intentions" in the war it had unleashed. "I don't want to describe that war as an aggressive one, as many Japanese, just as Chinese were killed," he said. He asserted that aggression means invasion and seizure of lands and property of others, and that Japan had no such intentions.

Indeed the minister's logic makes one think of acrobatic numbers on the circus arena. One might think that it was not Japanese aggressors who trampled underfoot lands

of Asian countries, but that it was Japan that was seized. The Japanese Army was slaying peaceful population of the countries Japan occupied, used "scorched earth" tactic there. From the viewpoint of Okuno and his militarist predecessors all this had been done to "liberate Asian peoples." Such is the logic of militarism which has been condemned by the world community.

According to chief cabinet secretary, Keizo Obuchi, Okuno's pronouncements do not reflect the Japanese Government's stand. But he kept from giving an unambiguous assessment of these pronouncements, saying that he has no knowledge of "the real intentions" of his colleague. But what is unclear to official Tokyo is apparent to the public of Asian countries and of Japan. It justly regards Okuno's pronouncemnts as an attempt to justify the aggressive war that had been unleashed by Japan. "Okuno's statements are not just his personal view of history," RENMIN RIBAO writes today. "His statements are connected with the attempts to misrepresent and justify Japan's aggressive policy in the Second World War, and they cannot but cause a justifiable anger of the Chinese people and other peoples," the Beijing newspaper writes.

And this view is quite right. The attempts to whitewash Japan's role in the past war, to revise its results had earlier been taken by Japanese officials, for instance, by former Minister of Education Masayuki Fujio. The current Minister of Posts and Telecommunications Masaki Nakayama holds views similar to those of Okuno. He attacked the film of Italian director Bernardo Bertolucci "The Last Emperor" which deals with the events in Manchoukuo, the puppet state created by the Japanese militarists early in the 30s on the territory of north-east China they had occupied. There is an influencial group of members of parliament in the ruling Liberal-Democratic Party which solidarised [as received] publically with Okuno's pronouncements. The group led by Shizuka Kamei declared that it regards as "unjustifiable" the criticism of Okuno by Asian countries. And those countries were victims of Japan's aggressive policy.

One gets the impression that they in Tokyo have no wish to assume a clearcut and unambiguous stand on questions that are of the fundamental importance for world politics and international relations, and this inevitably affects confidence in Japanese policy.

Moscow Interviews May Day Japanese Visitors

OW1205080388 Moscow in Japanese to Japan 1200 GMT 3 May 88

[Excerpts] At the invitation of the Moscow Oblast Council of Trade Unions, a Japanese delegation led by Kunio Shimazaki, vice chairman of the Tokyo District Council of Trade Unions [TDCTU], is currently visiting Moscow. On May Day, Radio Moscow reporter Igor Shirenko interviewed Shimazaki and another delegation member, Takashi Sasaki, chairman of the Executive Committee of the NHK Labor Union and an executive official of TDCTU.

[Begin recording] [Shirenko] How do you assess perestroyka now under way in the USSR?

[Shimazaki] It is a wonderful reform, I think. When I came to Moscow by Aeroflot last time in 1985, all in-flight announcements were in Russian, causing some inconvenience for us non-Russian speakers. This time, however, all announcements were in fluent Japanese, which was, in our impression, even better than our Japanese. This must be one of the conspicuous results of perestroyka that has begun to emerge, we thought. Also, on arrival in our hotel, we found the attendants to be very kind, and we were greatly impressed with the big change.

[Sasaki] I agree. Before coming here, I read about four books, including one on perestroyka by General Secretary Gorbachev and a few on the same subject by Japanese journalists. Here in the Soviet Union, I can gain a better understanding of the substance of the general secretary's writing and more clearly realize that Soviet trade union leaders, for instance, have a firm grasp of the perestroyka line pushed by the general secretary and are practicing it in their work.

We met with the chairman of Moscow Oblast [as heard] yesterday. He said that what General Secretary Gorbachev refers to as socialism is democracy. The chairman of Moscow Oblast said this in person. Trade unions are not indifferent to economic affairs, but are involved with them in various ways. Acting from the trade union's position, they see to it that individual workers have their rights protected and live a comfortable life. This, I believe, is what perestroyka means. So, my impression is that perestroyka pushed by the general secretary is making strides in a positive direction.

[Shirenko] May Day is a day of international solidarity for workers. How are workers of the unions you represent fighting for peace or for the international solidarity of workers?

[Shimazaki] Let me cite a specific example of our struggle for peace. As you know, there is a U.S. military base in Atsugi near Tokyo. As Tokyo expands, we have growing problems caused by the base, such as noise from the night training, increasing hazards, and threats to peace. We have carried on our struggle for the removal of the Atsugi base. This led to the planned relocation of the base to Miyake Jima, an island and part of Tokyo metropolis. Under these circumstances, TDCTU is stepping up its campaign against the relocation in support of the struggle of residents on the island.

As you know, it is being said that Japan has become a major economic giant of the world. In this connection, we keenly feel that we owe the economic development and affluence we enjoy to peace more than to anything else. We are trying to drive this home to all union members. [passage omitted]

[Shirenko] Lastly, would you comment on the significance of the Afghan peace accord that has been signed?

[Shimazaki] The realization of the withdrawal from Afghanistan is a development very favorable for the world peace, I think. As regards developments that led to it, all we know about them are what we read in Japanese commercial newspapers. We have no way to know the truth but profoundly welcome wars being settled one after another and peace restored.

[Sasaki] I believe that the Afghan peace accord is a wise decision by General Secretary Gorbachev. Besides the Afghan issue, there are other regional conflicts, too. I hope that the Afghan accord will lead to a settlement of other regional conflicts. [end recording]

Radio Cites Moscow Paper on 'Military Alliance'

OW1205075888 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 1400 GMT 5 May 88

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA commentary from the "Current Events and Commentaries" program]

[Text] Dear listeners, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff of South Korea is visiting Japan. The following is KRASNAYA ZVEZDA's comment on this:

The high-ranking South Korean official will not only hold talks with officials of Japan's military departments but will also meet with representatives of U.S. Forces in Japan headquarters and visit two U.S. military bases. The two bases he will visit are Kadena Air Base and Camp Butler, a U.S. Marine Corps base. All this clearly shows that the U.S.-Japan-Korea military group is working hard to form a Washington-Tokyo-Seoul military alliance.

It has been reported that the purpose of the visit to Japan by the South Korean general is to make preparations to ensure the security of the coming Olympic games. After their consultations, a statement was issued announcing that Japan would hold a large-scale military exercise off the Korean peninsula before the Olympic games. Much earlier, the Pentagon announced that it would send one or two aircraft carriers to the South Korean coast during the Olympic games. All this seems to show the three countries' determination to thwart any attempt to undermine the Olympic games.

In actuality, this is the three countries' attempt to knit their military actions more closely together. What is noteworthy is that all this is occurring against the background of an ever-increasing South Korean military strength. According to a report by Japan's KYODO News Service, Seoul has ordered at least four submarines from a West German company. Not long ago, British Defense Secretary Younger signed a memorandum on the conditions for supplying munitions to South Korea. Washington has covertly encouraged such acts. Pentagon strategists think they can help [words indistinct] organize all U.S. allies into a super alliance engulfing the European and Asian continents. Such active moves certainly cannot enhance security; they will only worsen the already tense situation on the Korean peninsula. What South Korea should do is to respond to the appeal for dialogue by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. Seoul's [words indistinct] is not to maintain confrontation but to curtail its preparations for war. Only by so doing can security on the Korean peninsula be enhanced.

Jubilee Awards Presented to DPRK Servicemen

PM1205094788 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 11 May 88 First Edition p 3

[TASS report under general heading: "Awards Presented"]

[Text] Pyongyang, 10 May—A formal ceremony was held here today to award the jubilee medal "70 Years of the USSR Armed Forces" to a large group of generals and officers from the Korean People's Army. The awards were presented by G.G. Bartoshevich, Soviet ambassador to the DPRK.

Speaking on behalf of the recipients, Army General Kim Pong-yul, deputy minister of the People's Armed Forces, stressed that members of the Korean People's Army will make every effort to further strengthen and develop friendship and cooperation between the DPRK and USSR armed forces in the interests of ensuring peace and security in Asia.

Balhaajab Describes Mongolian Achievements

PM1105105588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 10 May 88 Second Edition p 4

[Article by T. Balhaajab, secretary of the MPRP Central Committee: "Correct Choice"]

[Excerpts] In the life of every state there are historical milestones determining the destiny of the country and the nation as a whole. For Mongolia the victory of the 1921 people's revolution was one such point of reckoning. V.I. Lenin's advice regarding the possibility of the country's development to socialism while bypassing the capitalist stage was a lodestar for our party and for the Mongolian people's historical destiny. Lenin's ideas were placed at the foundation of the party's general line and of the state policy of the Mongolian People's Republic [MPR]. That is the abiding value of the decision of the Third MPRP Congress in August 1924.

It is not without interest that the congress decisions reflected the perspectives of the Mongolian people's revolution and pointed out that the MPRP's ultimate goal was communism. "Mongolia should not repeat the path traveled previously by other peoples of the world,

which is the path of anguished capitalist slavery, but should develop in the spirit of a truly popular system in accordance with modern international development," the resolution said.

The Mongolian revolution passed through two interconnected stages in its historical development: the democratic and the socialist. [passage omitted]

The development of socialism is closely connected with the time factor and requires a specific schedule. Unless you objectively consider the specific historical conditions, material and technical potential, and sociopsychological and spiritual preparation of society, then some blunders in time may be perpetrated. In Mongolia, in our view, the sixties and seventies should have been a period for the consolidation of successes in the production and spiritual spheres. However, rushing ahead was allowed here. We were overhasty in our conclusions that the completion of the building of socialism had already been begun, as though just two or three 5-year plans were sufficient for it. Despite the fact that Mongolia had scaled remarkable heights in all spheres of public life, the task which was set had not been realized in full.

Today the path which has been traveled is being examined critically. In terms of many indicators Mongolia is outstripping the Asian and African states whose socioeconomic development level was the same as its own in the recent past. The successes and achievements which the country now has are our pride and the prerequisite for confident advance into the future. Although the pace of national economic growth is rapid, the volume of gross social product and national income per capita and labor productivity and other basic indicators are still low. Over the past two 5-year plans the return on investment has declined greatly while materials intensiveness has increased considerably.

We do not live in isolation. And we cannot conceive of the building of socialism outside friendship with the fraternal countries. Friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union, generated by October, have been and are the guarantee of our country's flowering. From the mid-fifties we began to reap the fruit of cooperation with other socialist states. The fraternal peoples' aid and support are increasing with every passing year. This serves as one source of our acceleration.

Considering the social development level achieved and the objective factors influencing it, the 19th MPRP Congress put forward a course toward the acceleration of Mongolian society's advance. The creation of the material and technical base of socialism must be completed, the country must gradually be turned into an industrial-agrarian country, the economy must be intensified, and there must be an increase in the significance of a scientifically substantiated policy aimed at accelerating socioeconomic progress in connection with the need to bring the level of the MPR's development close to the level of the CEMA countries.

From today's height we can clearly see the real results of our fraternal fruitful cooperation. Our party attaches enormous importance to the creative application and introduction of the rich experience of the Soviet Union and the other fraternal countries. Restructuring and renewal are multiplying our forces.

The party's role in socialist building is increasing at the present stage.

The party sees the main task in implementing radical reform. Its thrust lies in eliminating conservatism in the mechanism of economic management, in changing economic thinking, introducing economic accountability [khozraschet], ensuring independence in the enterprise's activity, and eliminating rigid centralized planning.

The party believes that the renewal of its style of work is the basis for the fundamental improvement of all party and state activity. It is aimed at ensuring that work with people and the attitude displayed toward them are placed on a qualitatively new level. There has been a decrease in the amount of all kinds of multiple-level administration and of a sluggish, scornful, bureaucratic attitude toward people and their needs and there has been an increase in glasnost.

The methods and forms of ideological political, mass cultural, and scientific research activity are in need of restructuring. Much is already at the stage of implementation, in particular the monologue-based and didactic nature of propaganda work is being eliminated. We are gradually ridding ourselves of dogmatic approaches to theory and practice. We have markedly intensified the integration of study, science, and production. There is increasingly less chasing after quantitative indicators for the measures which are being implemented.

Matters are improving.

Briefs

News Agency Cooperation

Tokyo, 11 May (TASS)—Further strengthening and development of bilateral relations of cooperation is envisaged by a memorandum on talks between leaders of TASS and the Japanese KYODO News Agency which was signed today. The sides praised highly the first Soviet-Japanese public opinion poll carried out successfully by the two agencies in February of this year and agreed to continue in the practice of such polls. Specific questions of broadening professional cooperation between the two agencies in exchanges of information, including economic and photographic material, the dissemination of TASS information in Japan and KYODO's in the USSR were examined. An agreement has been reached to continue the practice of "roundtables" conducted by TASS and KYODO. The memorandum was signed by Sergey Losev, general director of

TASS and Shinji Sakai, president of KYODO Tsushin. [Text] *[LD1205033688 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0846 GMT 11 May 88]*

Southeast Asia & Pacific

USSR To Develop Military Forces in Pacific

BK1205134488 Quezon City RPN 9 Television in English 1000 GMT 12 May 88

[Text] The Soviet Union will retain and develop its military forces in the Pacific region to confront a growing threat from the United States. This announcement comes from (Aleksandr Losyukov), deputy chief of mission of the Soviet Embassy in Manila. According to (Losyukov), Moscow will continue to modernize its military forces and equipment to match those of the United States in this region. (Losyukov) has also confirmed the presence of two Soviet nuclear-powered vessels in the South China Sea.

Text of Ryzhkov Greetings to Australia

LD1105222288 Moscow TASS in English 2152 GMT 11 May 88

[Text] Moscow May 12 TASS—Follows the text of the message of greetings:

On the occasion of the USSR Day at the world exhibition "Expo-88" in Brisbane I cordially welcome the visitors to the Soviet pavilion.

The USSR has willingly responded to the invitation from the Australian Government to participate in the exhibition "Expo-88" since its main subject is of general human significance. A rational use of free time, an improvement of the conditions of work and recreation, health protection, establishment of correct relations with the environment make the list, which is far from being full, of the objectives confronting humanity. They have been reflected in the Soviet Union's exhibition, whose watchward is "recreation—a harmony of the individual, society and nature".

The attainment of these goals is a component part of the enormous work which is being done by the Soviet people now for a revolutionary restructuring of all aspects in our society's life.

Humanity is capable of implementing the grandiose task of improving the living standards of people, which faces it. Yet to this end it is necessary to ensure conditions that would make it possible to avert the threat of a nuclear catastrophe and to preserve life on earth.

Therefore the Soviet Union put forward on the basis of new political thinking the program for building a nuclear-free and non-violent world, developing international cooperation between all states, including the Asia-Pacific region.

Our countries have traditions of long standing of good relations with the peoples inhabiting that vast area of the world. The Soviet Union, as Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee pointed out in his speech in Vladivostok and his answers to the Indonesian newspaper MERDEKA, sincerely strives for establishing mutual normal relations with all countries situated here.

We point out with gratification the intensification in recent years of Soviet-Australian political and business talks. A fresh impetus to their further development was given last year by the visit to the USSR of Australia's Prime Minister Robert Hawke. It can be confidently said that our countries have a good basis for broadening equitable cooperation in various fields.

I avail myself of this opportunity to wish the Australian people in this yeaer, which is that of a jubilee for your country, peace, prosperity and happiness. Nikolay Ryzhkov chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers.

Near East & South Asia

Afghan Defense Minister on Army Capabilities

LD1205130988 Moscow TASS in English 1231 GMT 12 May 88

[Text] Moscow May 12 TASS—The Afghan defense minister has called for a peaceful rather than military solution to the conflict in his country.

Speaking in an interview with the Soviet weekly NEW TIMES, Colonel-General Muhammad Rafi', stressed:

"We stand not for resolving the fundamental issues of the further existence of our state militarily, through strength. We stand for settling all disputes peacefully, politically."

Rafi', who is also a member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, continued:

"It is now a crucial moment for Afghanistan. After Geneva all the real patriots of the nation have been pressing for peace even more vigorously.

"But the opposition is still thoughtlessly gambling on the force of arms and wants the fratricidal war to continue.

"This applies first of all to the leaders of the 'Alliance of the Seven', who flatly reject the national reconciliation policy and the Geneva agreements."

Rafi' gave specific and numerous examples of violations by armed opposition groups of the ceasefire declared by the government.

Commenting in this connection on Western media assertions that the Afghan Army "won't hold out even for a day" following the Soviet troop withdrawal, he said.

"We are aware that after the withdrawal of the Soviet limited contingent the whole responsibility for protecting our people's gains will lie on the shoulders of the Afghan Army....

"I personally have no doubt that our Armed Forces, all their services, will staunchly defend the fatherland and rebuff forays by any enemy.

"Over the years of the undeclared war the Afghan Army has grown in numbers, got stronger ideologically and organizationally, been tempered in battles and learnt combat prowess from Soviet troops."

The army and the border guard forces, he said, were fully provided with modern military equipment enabling them to protect industrial centers and supply lines reliably.

The Afghan defense minister expressed gratitude to the Soviet Government and all Soviet people for their fraternal assistance with enhancing the combat capability of the Afghan Army and for their active help to the national reconciliation process in Afghanistan.

Afghan Official Condemns Rebel Missile Attack

LD1105230088 Moscow TASS in English 2134 GMT 11 May 88

[Text] Kabul May 11 TASS—Afghan Interior Minister Sayyed Muhammad Gulabzoy addressed by television the country's population in connection with a missile attack by extremists at residential quarters of Kabul.

"The villainous crime, in which 23 people died and 28 more, including children and women, were injured, was perpetrated by the enemies at a time when the country is pursuing a policy of national reconciliation," the minister said.

"By firing missiles at residential quarters, the extremists showed their real selves to the people, they showed their desire to thwart the implementation of the Geneva accords.

"We should enhance still more our vigilance and put an end to the armed activities of the irreconcilable part of the opposition for the sake of ensuring a peaceful life for Afghan citizens, strengthening security and ending the bloodshed," Sayyed Muhammad Gulabzoy said.

He pointed out that security forces had taken measures to resolutely stop any attempts at violating peaceful life of the Afghan capital.

Terrorist Acts Prevented in Afghanistan

LD1205110288 Moscow TASS in English 1023 GMT 12 May 88

["Afghanistan—Acts of Terrorism Prevented"—TASS headline]

[Text] Kabul May 12 TASS—Further attempts to fire rockets at residential areas in Kabul have been averted by security forces which have seized nine rocket systems in the areas of Dashtak and Mes-Ainak.

Another such attempted bombardment of residential areas has been prevented in Nangarhar Province when security forces captured 15 surface-to-surface rockets during an operation in its administrative center, the city of Jalalabad.

A unit of extremists terrorizing civilians has been destroyed in Paktia Province. A large amount of weapons and ammunition was seized.

Soviet Troops Begin To Evacuate Jalalabad

BK1205100588 Hong Kong AFP in English 0951 GMT 12 May 88

[Text] Islamabad, May 12 (AFP)—Soviet troops began to pull out of the strategic city of Jalalabad near Kabul Thursday, Afghan resistance sources said.

The sources said that a convoy of nearly 70 Soviet tanks and armoured vehicles left Jalalabad, the capital of Nangarhar Province in northeast Afghanistan, for Kabul, some 100 kilometers (62 miles) away.

Jalalabad, which houses a large Soviet-Afghan garrison and a military air base, is considered strategic as it guards the access to the capital as well as power stations which supply electricity to Kabul.

According to the Afghan Media Resource Center (AMRC), which works for the Afghan resistance, 300 empty trucks arrived recently in Jalalabad to evacuate a Soviet brigade which is to be replaced by Afghan troops.

Soviet transport planes also arrived bringing artillery for Afghan troops, the AMRC said, citing eye-witnesses.

The AMRC added that 4,000 Soviet soldiers based in Samar Kheyl, about a dozen kilometers (eight miles) from Jalalabad, were on their way to Jalalabad to be evacuated.

Last week, several military positions held by the Red Army were turned over to Afghan troops last week.

There has been sporadic fighting in the region, particularly along the badly-damaged road that leads from Jalalabad to Towr Kham on the Afghan-Pakistan border.

Islamabad, May 12 (AFP)—Afghan resistance sources said a Soviet helicopter was shot down Thursday by the rebels using a surface-to-air missile about 35 kilometers (22 miles) outside Jalalabad.

The four-man military crew of the aircraft were all killed, including one severely-burned crewman who tried to escape the helicopter by parachute, the sources said.

They added that the helicopter was shot down prior to the withdrawal, when Soviet aircraft bombed the area.

Soldiers Greeted Upon Return From Afghanistan

WA18010237 Moscow
SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian
12 May 88 p 4

[Unattributed report: "Termez Prepares for the Meeting"]

[Text] Termez is preparing to greet ceremoniously the servicemen who have fulfilled their international duty in Afghanistan.

A ceremonial meeting will take place by the bridge across the Amu Darya along which will pass the columns of troops. One of the tribunes which has been constructed here, the guest tribune, is for families and friends of the soldiers and officers. War and labor veterans and young people will greet the servicemen. The streets and squares of Termez are being dressed up and the cities hotels are being carefully prepared, as they will be receiving guests from the four corners of the country as well as representatives of the media.

A party gorkom staff is working to organize the meeting with the Soviet servicemen. Measures have been worked out and are being taken to prepare retail and cultural services for the visitors.

"We have been given a great honor, to be the first to greet the Soviet servicemen who have fulfilled their international duty," says Termez party gorkom First Secretary T. Dzhurayeva. "And we are doing everything we can to make the meeting warm and sincere, and to insure that all the participants remember it forever."

Further Reports of Returning Afghan Refugees

LD1105192588 Moscow TASS in English 1228 GMT 11 May 88

[Text] Kabul May 11 TASS—TASS correspondent M. Kosovskiy reports: More than 350 Afghans, who left the homeland under the influence of hostile propaganda, returned in Qandahar Province from Pakistan Tuesday. The local government bodies supplied the repatriates with food and basics.

The residents of Deh Malah and Golkari [names as received] villages in Laghman Province announced the areas of their residence a peace zone. At rallies held there authoritative representatives of the population stated their readiness to exert every effort to contribute to a succesful implementation of the national reconciliation policy. On the same day, an opposition group of 120 people downed arms in Daulatabad Village, Faryab Province.

An extremist group was mopped up with the participation of the local population in Jowzjan Province.

The security forces discovered a large weapons depot in Sarowbi village, Kabul Province. Thirty nine rockets, 85 mines and a large amount of ammunition were defused.

Extremists from Ghazni Province staged a new crime. They opened a barrage of artillery fire at densely-populated areas of the provincial administrative center. The barbaric action caused deaths and injuries. In the same province the security forces found in an administrative building and defused an explosive device hidden by extremists in a car fuel can.

Commentators View 'Complex' Afghan Situation

Rebels Seek Victory

LD1105232588 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1645 GMT 11 May 88

[From the "International Diary" program, presented by Boris Andrianov]

[Text] [Andrianov] Just a few days remain before the Geneva agreements on Afghanistan go into force. Foreign news agencies report on active preparation for step-by-step withdrawal of Soviet detachments from the country. By 15 August, half of the Soviet troops should be back home. A Reuter dispatch from Kabul also focuses attention on the fact that the Afghan Army is also reducing its combat operations.

At the same time foreign observers note that long convoys with U.S. weapons stretch through the territory of Pakistan into Afghanistan. They, incidentally, were used by Afghan opposition groups during rocket firing on Monday on residential areas in Kabul. As a result, 21 people were killed and 27 were wounded. In this way, on the eve of the coming into force of the Geneva agreements, a complicated [neprostaya] situation is developing in Afghanistan. Over to my colleague, commentator Aleksandr Malik.

[Malik] Indeed, as you have rightly noted, the situation in Afghanistan itself on the eve of the coming into force of the Geneva agreements, is becoming pretty complex. In my view this complexity stems from the more and more clear polarization of attitudes to ideas of national accord. On the one hand it is evident that the Afghan Government considers the Geneva agreements an important impetus to the policy of national reconciliation. On the other hand the withdrawal of Soviet troops planned for 15 May according to the conditions of the

agreement, appears to create the illusion among Afghan opposition forces of the possibility of gaining the upper hand in the civil war by continuing it.

These two tendencies, which are becoming more and more clear, correspondingly determine the line of behavior of the sides on the eve of the coming into force of the Geneva accords. Najibullah, president of Afghanistan, is demonstrating flexibility in thinking and readiness to go for compromise. While on an official visit recently to India, he turned to leaders of the Afghan opposition with a proposal to resolve the problem of the division of power by means traditional for Afghans—at a nationwide peaceful assembly. Then at a news conference in Kabul, the Afghan president once again invited the former king of Afghanistan, Zahir Shah, to return to the homeland and to take part in attaining national unity.

As you see, the Afghan leadership is persistently seeking ways for a most rapid end to bloodshed. The conduct of the opposition looks contrasting against this background. To start with, Rabbani and then Hikmatyar rejected both compromise formulae for achieving national accord put forward by Najibullah in Delhi and Kabul. In this way the Peshawar Seven, torn by internal conflicts, has so far turned out to be united in one thing—it rejects any formula for national dialogue, placing a stake on a military victory, and here I would like to say that such bellicosity has absolutely concrete grounds. You have already mentioned, Boris Vasilyevich, that convoys with U.S. weapons are continuing to cross the Afghan border from Pakistan. It is these weapons that are heating up the bellicose mood of the Afghan opposition. It also feels the unwavering protection of Islamabad, which does not conceal its opposition to the idea of Afghans creating a coalition government on a broad basis.

As is known, the Pakistan Administration takes the side of its favorites among the leaders of the Peshawar Seven. From here obviously stems the evident passivity toward the practical implementation of the Geneva agreements, which drew the criticism of Benazir Bhutto, cochairman of the Pakistani People's Party. And yet I am not inclined to dramatize the situation that is developing in Afghanistan and I would sooner agree with the view of Diego Cordovez, the personal representative of the UN secretary general, that those who think that they will not be able to come to an agreement among themselves underestimate the Afghans and (?their traditions). They also clearly underestimate the influence on Afghans tired by war, of that atmosphere which will arise in Afghanistan when the provisions of the Geneva agreements go into force.

U.S. 'Armed Interference'

LD1105184588 Moscow World Service in English 1110 GMT 11 May 88

[Text] [Unidentified Announcer] Now an item by Yuriy Solton on the obstacles standing in the way of national reconciliation in Afghanistan. This is what he writes:

They call themselves irreconcilable, the seven heads of armed units that brought much sorrow to the Afghans and shed much blood of innocent people. But they don't get on with each other to the extent that made them ignore for a long time even Washington's stern demand to agree at least to an outward show of unity, and Washington is their chief supplier of weapons and money.

The national reconciliation policy announced by Kabul, a policy that guarantees all the Afghans, regardless of their convictions, participation on an equal footing in the building of a better life, this policy has knocked the ground from under their feet. It has made even more chimeric their claims to power. These leaders have entrenched themselves in the Pakistani city of Peshawar and formed what's known as the Alliance of Seven. They proclaim themselves the only leaders of the opposition, though not all the opposition members share their views.

The Peshawar Seven have given a hostile reception to the Geneva accords providing for a political settlement of the situation round Afghanistan. Kabul offered them peace and an opportunity to take part in the central government. The seven chose war. They are waging it with the help of barbarous methods. They are responsible for the killing of civilians on board the passenger plane shot down on their order. They are directly responsible for the death of women and children in the car bomb explosion in Kabul. They are responsible for the killing of women and children during the recent shelling of a densely populated Kabul district.

Just imagine, envoys of certain countries come to Peshawar to express their support for the seven, and Washington has sent its special advisor, who handed the official message from the Administration to the seven leaders. What kind of advice do the American friends give the Peshawar Seven? They advise them to establish control over the greater part of Afghanistan, to form an interim government, and unleash a large-scale war. And this is the policy of the country that has agreed, along with the Soviet Union, to become a guarantor of the Geneva accords. The agreements prohibit to give any support to the separatists engaged in subversive activities against the Afghan Republic.

The Soviet-American summit is due to open in Moscow at the end of May. Regional conflicts will be discussed there among other issues. One would like to ask the American side bluntly there if it intends to honor the Geneva accords or go ahead with its policy of armed interference in the Afghan affairs.

'Emergency Deliveries' by U.S.

LD1105163588 Moscow TASS in English 1550 GMT 11 May 88

[Text] Moscow May 11 TASS—TASS political news analyst Yuriy Kornilov writes:

Soviet troops staying on Afghanistan's territory prepare to return home. Their withdrawal which the French newspaper "LE MONDE" described as a "symbol of new Soviet diplomacy", shows clearly the striving of Moscow and Kabul to untie the "Afghan knot", to comply fully and precisely with the agreements contained in the "Geneva package". It is important to note that the withdrawal of Soviet troops will take place at a time when the policy of national reconciliation conducted by the Afghan Government paved the road to a nation-wide dialogue, opened prospects for the formation of a coalition government with the participation of all forces representing Afghan society, including those that now oppose one another.

But the brighter the light at the end of the tunnel, more obvious it becomes that definite circles in the West that are in words for the elimination of this long-drawn-out regional conflict are in reality not at all pleased with the prospects of its settlement. Hardly the ink with which the Geneva accords were signed had dried than the ASSOCIATED PRESS reported that the United States had started emergency deliveries of armaments to Afghan insurgents so as, allegedly, to make up for the losses resulting from an explosion at armaments depots near Islamabad. Furthermore, a draft resolution was submitted to the U.S. Congress which says that the United States should not stop aid to Afghan resistance. Reports in THE NEW YORK TIMES show that the U.S. Administration sent a certain message to the leaders of the armed opposition. That message is actually none other than the call for the continuation of the civil war after the withdrawal of Soviet troops.

Extremists linked with the Peshawar insurgents are backed and encouraged and these terroristic groups are operating and trying to whip up tension and spill the blood of innocent people. A truck with dynamite blew up in the centre of Kabul some time back. Whence had it arrived? It has been established that it arrived from Pakistan where the United States is urgently sending armaments and ammunition. 17 missiles were just fired at the Afghan capital. Women, children, old people died from these explosions. Who launched these missiles? The self-same "insurgents" who are being supplied with armaments with the trademark "Made in USA".

The adventurism of insurgents is clearly an obstacle to the establishment of peace in Afghanistan, to the normalisation of the situation regarding Afghanistan. And it is none other than the Pakistani Government that signed the obligation to prevent within the Pakistani territory the presence, harbouring, in camps and bases or otherwise, organizing, training, financing, equipping and arming of political and any other groups for the purpose of conducting subversive activity against the Government of Afghanistan. And is not one of the Geneva documents signed by George Shultz for the Government of the United States stating clearly and precisely that the parties undertake to "invariably refrain from any form of interference and intervention in the internal affairs of the Republic of Afghanistan and the Islamic Republic of Pakistan?"

It is now appropriate to emphasize that any departure from the Geneva accords can only harm the cause of the Afghan settlement and will detract from the moral prestige of states that violate the obligations they assumed in the face of the whole world.

According to the Washington classification, regional conflicts are described as "low-intensity warfare". But nearly 17 million people died in these wars over the past decades, and the loss of life continues growing. The signing of the Geneva accords is patent evidence that the flame of regional conflicts can and must be extinguished. One thing only is needed for this. It is necessary to give up the attempts to export counterrevolution and to enable every country, every people to decide its own destiny.

'Power Struggle' Prolonged

PM1105134188 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 11 May 88 p 3

[Own Correspondent M. Kozhukhov report: "Explosion Near Children's Playground"]

[Text] Kabul—There were bloodstains and splinters of glass on the asphalt. People's eyes were filled with horror. The windows of an apartment block were gaping holes. A shell had fallen just 3 meters short of it next to a playground where, as usual at this time in the evening, children had been playing.

"Come on, little one, get up," a mother said, trying to raise the child's bloody body from the ground and still refusing to believe that he was dead. A young man stood frozen over the headless corpse of his 4-year-old son. This is Kabul, 9 May....

Eleven people, including at least 4 children, were killed. Around 2 dozen injured men, women, and youths were taken to hospital.

The Afghan capital was shelled by the dushmans last Monday, when there was less than a week to go before the beginning of the Soviet troop withdrawal, and rendered meaningless the slogan of the "holy struggle against the unbelievers" inscribed on the counterrevolutionary banners. The totally unjustified act of blind terror confirms once again that the Afghan extremists intend to prolong the bloody power struggle. It also proves once more that the Geneva agreements may have provided the basis for resolving the situation around Afghanistan, but an internal settlement in this country promises to be far more difficult to achieve.

U.S. Insists on Inspecting Saudi Missiles

LD1105200988 Moscow International Service in Arabic 1400 GMT 11 May 88

[Text] Richard Murphy, the assistant secretary of state, said in Washington that the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia has refused to allow U.S. experts to inspect the sites of intermediate-range missiles which Riyadh purchased from the People's Republic of China last year. This type of missile is able to carry nuclear warheads.

The U.S. request to inspect defense sites in Saudi Arabia was turned down by the sovereign state. Even the existence of distinguished relations between the United States and Saudi Arabia does not give the former any right to interfere in the other side's internal affairs. Moreover, Saudi Arabia recently joined the international treaty on the nonproliferation of nuclear weapons. In this respect, Richard Murphy expressed Washington's satisfaction with this decision. However, the U.S. Administration, as AFP reports, is still endeavoring to persuade the Saudi Government to allow its experts to inspect its missiles.

At the same time, the U.S. Administration intends to make another attempt to obtain Congress approval for the sale of some types of armaments to Saudi Arabia. This deal, estimated at $800 million, is still frozen because of Israel's fierce opposition and that of the Zionist lobby in the United States. This is one of the reasons which pushed Saudi Arabia to diversify its sources of defensive armaments.

Admiral Sorokin Visit to Syria Reported

PM1105164588 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 8 May 88 First Edition p 3

[Unattributed report: "Visit by Delegation of Political Workers"]

[Text] A delegation of leading political workers from the Soviet Armed Forces headed by Admiral of the Fleet A.I. Sorokin, first deputy chief of the Main Political Directorate of the Soviet Army and Navy, was in Syria 2-6 May at the invitation of the Syrian Armed Forces Political Directorate.

Admiral of the Fleet A.I. Sorokin and his entourage were received by General M. Talas, Syrian deputy prime minister and defense minister.

There followed meetings and conversations with Division General J. al-Juhni, chief of the Syrian Armed Forces Political Directorate, and other leading political workers from the Syrian Army and Navy.

The two sides exchanged experience in organizing and conducting political education work and the moral and psychological training of personnel in the two friendly countries' armies.

The delegation visited a number of military units and military training establishments, laid a wreath at the memorial to dead heroes in the city of Damascus, and saw places of interest in Syria.

Sub-Saharan Africa

Radio Moscow Interviews South African Author

MB1105144588 Moscow in Afrikaans to Southern Africa 1745 GMT 6 May 88

[Text] The 8th of May is a day for commemoration. Thirteen years ago the prominent South African revolutionary and communist Bram Fischer died. He died after 10 years of imprisonment, remaining true to his convictions until his death. Not only freedom fighters, but all honest South Africans, black and white, are proud of Bram Fischer. Here is well-known South African writer Andre Brink's opinion of Bram Fischer:

[Begin Brink recording] One of the landmarks in my personal development, and in my development as an Afrikaner, was the remarkable Bram Fischer, possibly best known in South Africa as the descendant of one the most exemplary and illustrious Boer families of the old Free State Republic, later known as an advocate, and ultimately, through a sustained propaganda campaign of slander and distortion, known in South Africa only as communist.

I became acquainted with the image of Bram Fischer during the course of the 1960's. He was a person who integrated me, because of his extraordinary integrity, by deciding to return to South Africa and accepting full responsibility for his inspired struggle against inhumanity, against apartheid, even knowing that he faced imprisonment, or maybe the death sentence, when he could have just gone to England and stayed there.

But at that time, in those years, I was unaware of specifics about him. It only happened later that I read his really remarkable statement to the court, a document that had been for many years completely inaccessible in South Africa. It went so far beyond the level and the distorted image of Fischer projected by the authorities in South Africa that I was moved on a human level and as a writer. I decided something had to be done to disseminate this image, to ensure that more people knew about it.

For this reason, I used Fischer as the model for the positive Afrikaner in my novel, Gerugte Van Reen ["Rumors of Rain"], in which I quoted verbatim virtually the entire document, something which could have earned me a prison sentence of 5 years or more had it been a documentary publication. But by using the novel as a form, it was possible to promote this image of Fischer. This was made very clear by my use of Bram Fischer's initials in the name of the character, Bernard Franken.

When you speak to people who were locked up with him, with people who were involved in the struggle with him, you will find that he was not first and foremost a communist, although he was a committed communist, but a human among humans. He was concerned over injustice, over the necessity to acknowledge and honor other people. He was a person prepared to give up his whole life for the sake of others in South Africa to whom human dignity is denied. Whatever one's political convictions may be, even the most inured Nationalist has to respect someone who would to this extend and in this way risk his own life.

What strikes one, of course, is that he is not the only one. He may be one of the most remarkable dissident Afrikaners of this century, but there are more. It is a tradition that really is very old in Afrikanerdom. One could almost say that ever since there have been Afrikaners, there have been dissidents. It was probably expressed the first time, albeit often exaggerated, in an incident when the young Hendrik Biebol, in the struggle against Willem Adriaan van der Stel around 1706, declared for the first time that he was an Afrikaner—and that within the context of so-called legitimate authority exceeding its own legitimacy.

Since then, whether in the liberal direction of (?Ansie) Stockenstrom or in the backvelder, bellicose direction of Frederik Buzuidenhout or Conraad de Buys—great dissenters who ultimately represented the best in the Afrikaner—it was something which continued through the ages and reached its peak in a person like Bram Fischer. [end recording]

This was part of an interview with the well-known South African writer, Andre Brink, in which he spoke of the revolutionary, Bram Fischer.

Power Minister Attends Ethiopian Ceremony

PM1205101588 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 3 May 88 Morning Edition p 1

[Report by own correspondent G. Ustinov: "Ethiopia: Festival on the Banks of the Wabe Shebele"]

[Excerpts] Addis Ababa—The first phase of the "Melka-Vakane" [name as published] Hydropower Complex, Ethiopia's biggest, has been commissioned.

One turbine is in operation so far. The three others will start up before the end of the year. The full commissioning of the hydroelectric power station will double Ethiopia's energy potential. [passage omitted]

Last year's drought played a cruel trick on the power workers as well as the farmers. Because of the water shortage, Ethiopia's major hydroelectric power stations, "Koka," "Awash-2," and "Awash-3," were forced to suspend operations. Only the "Finch'a'a" station remained on stream.

That is why the startup of the first phase of "Melka-Vakane" is so opportune. Last Saturday, when the ceremony was held to present the station with its "birth certificate," many VIPs came to the shore of the wide artificial sea: Ethiopian President Haile Mariam Mengistu, USSR Minister of Power and Electrification A.I. Mayorets, and a delegation from the CSSR.

Hundreds of villages and hamlets in Ethiopia will have electric light for the first time. And with the full commissioning of the new hydroelectric power station some of the power can be exported to neighboring states.

East Europe

Further on Strike at Gdansk Shipyard

Workers Return

LD1205145788 Moscow TASS inEnglish1426 GMT 12 May 88

[Text] Warsaw May 12 TASS—The Gdansk shipyard, a major enterprise on Poland's Baltic Sea Coast, has fully resumed normal activities today. The PAP news agency reports that a bigger part of the 11-thousand strong work collective reported to work in accordance with the shipyard director's instructions. The work has started in equipping 9 recently launched ships and building operations have begun at 5 hulls being assembled in building berths.

Preparations are underway in the hull section for laying the first of a series of up-to-day factory ships for the Soviet Union. Such a factory ship has an hourly capacity of 10,000 fish cans.

The shipyard plans to sell 10-11 ships this year including a refrigerator ship for the Szczecin shipyard, factory ships and the third seagoing sailer for the USSR.

The directorate of the enterprise jointly with the workers council and trade unions are discussing the question of how to catch up with the arrears of work caused by the recent strike.

PRON Issues Statement

LD1105224388 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1329 GMT 11 May 88

[Text] Warsaw, 11 May TASS—TASS correspondent Valentin Volkov reports:

The group consisting of several hundred people which has conducted an illegal strike at the Gdansk shipyard left the territory of the enterprise yesterday evening. A PAP correspondent reported this from Gdansk. On the instructions of the management, the shipyard's work was halted while awaiting a decision on the future of the enterprise as a consequence of its financial difficulties. Today the director of the enterprise stated that the

circumstances that were hindering the normal functioning of the enterprise and that had been the reason for stopping its work had changed and that from 12 May normal working of the Gdansk shipyard would resume. He instructed all the workers to return to their workplaces. The shipbuilders and the personnel of the repair and technical services needed to resume the continuous production cycle who were summoned by the management turned up at the shipyard this morning. They are checking and putting into operation the technological lines. The other workers collectives in the country have been working normally.

A statement by the Presidium of the Executive Committee of the All-Polish Council of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth [PRON], published here, condemns the strike actions undertaken in Poland in recent days. Strikes, regardless of their motives, create a threat to the process of reform and agreement, they cause damage which is difficult to restore, worsen the market situation, intensify inflation, and weaken the economy, the statement points out. It is particularly important to stress this in the present difficult economic situation in the country. The strikes and upheavals are also directed against Poland's international positions and cause harm to the prestige of our country and to its being trusted as a partner in Europe and throughout the world. Now at the very start of the period of changes that is calculated to last several years, changes that are aimed at improving the economy, what is more necessary than ever before is consistency, staunchness, and courage. Deep restructuring requires time. Everyone must unite their efforts to restore a healthy economy and normal conditions of life and work, says the statement from the Presidium of the Executive Committee of the All-Polish Council of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth.

Repercussions Reviewed

LD1205134088 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0530 GMT 12 May 88

[Text] The recent strikes in Poland have caused justified concern not only among the Polish public but have also been receiving broad reaction abroad. If you recall, we have been regularly informing you about this. Today we will also devote some of our time to this subject, so over to our Warsaw correspondent, Vasiliy Lesovik.

[Lesovik] As far as recent events are concerned, first and foremost I would like to say that normal work has begun at the Gdansk shipyards. The production process has been resumed at the berth where 10 ships are being built. The economic damage inflicted on the collective by the 10 days of the illegal strike is being assessed. The shipbuilders are worried by the financial situation, but any analysis must be very vague, if you take into account the fact that even before the shipyards were not at their best economically speaking, and the fact that the banks had lost confidence in the stability of the enterprises and, bearing in mind recent events, refused to grant them credit.

Yes, the events of May had their effect not only in Poland but also had wide repercussions abroad, and attitudes toward them were mirrored just as those in the West wanted to see the reflection of these events. Polish society mainly reacted unfavorably to the attempts to engender destabilization and economic chaos. Proof of this lies in the following data of a public opinion poll carried out a few days ago among the people of Warsaw. Sixty-two percent of those quoted reacted unfavorably to the strikes, 13 did not offer an opinion, and an even greater percentage believes that such actions will lead to a reduction in living standards and a decline in the country's economic potential and spoke of the need for effective economic reform.

Yesterday the Republic's Sejm adopted a law on emergency powers for the government aimed at accelerating the process of economic reforms and more effective measures to prevent a growth in inflation. This document is a kind of authorization for the Council of Ministers to remove the barrier of bureaucratic obstacles that have accumulated since the resistance shown by the opponents of reform. The temporary powers granted to the government enable it to freeze prices and wages as one of the reasons for inflation, to carry out more effective action in liquidating non-profitmaking factories and works, and to intensify control over the assets and profits of enterprises.

Sejm Confirms Will To Reform, Grants Powers

LD1205062288 Moscow TASS in English 0611 GMT 12 May 88

[Text] Warsaw May 12 TASS—TASS correspondent Valentin Volkov reports:

The Sejm of the Polish People's Republic has confirmed a decisive will to go ahead with the policy of socialist renovation and sweeping reforms in the country's social and economic life, says a resolution adopted at a session of Poland's supreme legislative authority held here Wednesday.

The changes occurring in the last years make it for solidifying the country's international positions, the document points out. Like the Soviet Union and other socialist states, Poland stands on the path of reforms that serve to forge the socialist countries' forces and cohesion.

The process to reshape comprehensively social and economic life, which is of such an immense importance to advancing the country and its positions on the international scene, laid down a reliable foundation for implementing broad national accord on the basis of common sense and common interests of the entire population.

Mindful of the inconsistency that was manifest in the process to carry through the economic reform, the unwillingness of some economic quarters to consider the economic realities, the Sejm made the decision to grant emergency powers to the government, the resolution says.

The consequences of the recent strike activity complicate a further realization of the economic reform. The Sejm called attention to the fact that the attempts to impede the process of change in the country objectively means pushing off the people and the state from the path leading to the progress of the society.

All difficulties and disputable issues should be surmounted on the basis of respect for law rather than by stoppages and actions which are designed to erode the reforms and weaken Poland's positions in the international arena.

Messner on Emergency Powers

PM1205142388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 12 May 88 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Emergency Powers Law"]

[Text] Warsaw, 11 May—A Polish Sejm session was held here today. W. Jaruzelski, PZPR Central Committee first secretary and Polish Council of State chairman, and other Polish leaders participated. The deputies of the country's supreme legislative organ examined and approved a government draft law on granting the Polish Council of Ministers emergency powers for the effective realization of the principles of the second stage of the economic reform in the country.

Presenting the draft law, Z. Messner, PZPR Central Committee Politburo member and Polish Council of Ministers chairman, emphasized that the purpose of endowing the government with emergency powers before the end of this year is to ensure the reform's progress, the protection of the population's living conditions, the state's positions and strength, and the hope of a better future for the people. A return to administrative-distributive methods is resolutely ruled out and rejected. He noted the government's intention to make amendments to socioeconomic policy, whose purpose will be to sharply accelerate the modernization of the economy's structure in the direction of efficiency and increased production of modern goods. Money-market equilibrium holds first place among the aims of the economic policy. The law will provide various means to prevent unjustified growth in prices and labor remuneration. At the present time, however, a freeze on prices and payments does not seem a necessary or expedient step, the speaker pointed out.

The complex nature of economic processes has resulted in the population's impatience making itself felt. The illegal strikes at several enterprises, which also assumed a political nature, were an extreme manifestation of this. However, the overwhelming majority of the people and the working people displayed a sense of responsibility worthy of respect, realizing that tranquillity and labor are the most reliable guarantees of the line of reforms and socialist renewal.

On behalf of the government Z. Messner urged all Polish working people to actively support the initiatives in developing the reform process and to display courage and initiative in resolving urgent tasks, and consistency and discipline—the necessary conditions for success.

Basis of Powers Detailed

LD1105231288 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 11 May 88

[Text] The Sejm of the Polish People's Republic has adopted a law on granting the Council of Ministers of the Polish Peoples Republic emergency powers aimed at speeding up the process of economic reforms and on countering the growth of inflation. Vasiliy Lesovik, our Warsaw correspondent, tells us about this in greater detail.

[Lesovik] What specifically lies behind such powers? Above all, the government has gained the right to exercise more rigid control over the resources of both special funds and the funds of enterprises for investment. It also receives powers to influence directly the movement of prices and wages, right up to freezing them for a certain period. Lately many enterprises have made speculative use of the fact that employees' wages were raised at the expense of an overestimated calculation of prices for goods, which has led to a rise in inflation and to the galloping increase of market prices. Incidentally, the government has received a power which allows it to speed up the process of eliminating inefficient state enterprises.

Previously, a bankrupt enterprise had many loopholes for deferments. The same rights have been provided for dismissing incompetent industrial managers. Some of the provisions of the law concern the simplification of organizational structures of various intermediate links in the management of industry. In other words, all these provisions envisage a rapid and effective reaction to the most neuralgic [as heard] points of acceleration, at phenomena that are acting contrary to the logic of reform and the interests of society as a whole.

During discussion of the draft law, deputies pointed out that the removal of these phenomena by means of slow transformations only slows down the process of reform and strikes at its very basis. Emergency measures are essential. A surgical operation, as the program of economic reform is sometimes called here, cannot be done with a blunt scalpel.

The emergency powers have been granted to the Council of Ministers temporarily. The government has proposed its own deadline, till the end of the year, stressing at the

same time, that the results of this activity can bring (?success) only under conditions of calm, order, and the normal functioning of both the economy as a whole and of individual enterprises.

Further on Urban 10 May News Conference

LD1005231488 Moscow TASS in English 2308 GMT 10 May 88

[Text] Warsaw May 10 TASS—Strikes and protests in Poland over recent days have failed to win the backing of the working class and the rest of the population, Polish Government spokesman Jerzy Urban said at a news conference.

He said this has meant the failure of attempts by Western radio services to whip up a psychosis and create the impression of a whole country on strike and in crisis.

The common sense and feeling of responsibility demonstrated by the majority in this difficult period make outlook good for advancing and democratizing economic reform, Urban continued.

Recent illegal strikes and threats of strikes, demonstrations and disturbances involving some groups of society have been rooted in feelings of dissatisfaction.

"We are aware of this and understand the impatience of people whose lives are not easy. The authorities are drawing their conclusions from the situation.

"At the same time it is important that people and groups prepared to play with Poland's destiny have failed to find extensive support and use the dissatisfaction for scuttling the policy of reform and renovation.

"The working class has quickly realized that the struggle for higher pay will trigger off a chain reaction and will lead on a nationwide scale to the emission of uncovered money, greater inflation and the termination of the second phase of reform in the very beginning.

"Better living standards have to be earned, while strikes can only get the situation worse. Such was the lesson of 1981 when wages were growing, living standards dropping and one could buy nothing," Urban said.

"Political slogans were palmed off to some of the strikers. But the Polish working class chose not to enter the same water in which it had once caught a cold," the spokesman added.

"The instigators' actions today do not pursue goals related to Poland alone. They are directed against democratic changes and reforms in all the socialist states," he noted.

Urban once again harshly criticized Western mass media for having gone out of their way to try to provoke a conflict in the country by falsifying events.

"This is not journalism, but complicity in provoking things and engineering unrest," the spokesman said, saying the freedom of the press and the freedom of activity for Western correspondents in Poland have been flagrantly abused.

Gromyko Continues Visit to Romania

PM1205121588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 12 May 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Meetings on Romanian Soil"]

[Text] Bucharest, 11 May—A.A. Gromyko began talks with Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP general secretary and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, in the Romanian State Council building in Bucharest 10 May. They held the first meeting one on one.

A.A. Gromyko described how the Soviet Union's working people are implementing the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress and of subsequent party Central Committee plenums which substantiated the concept of revolutionary restructuring and adopted decisions which have ensured conditions for realizing it.

Soviet people support by their deeds the policy of radical economic reform, the democratization and profound renewal of all aspects of society's life, and the broad development of glasnost. The entry into force of the Law on the State Enterprise has helped to enhance the working people's activeness and responsibility.

The implementation of the ideas enshrined in the draft Law on Cooperatives in the USSR, which is being widely discussed in the country and has been placed on the agenda of the next USSR Supreme Soviet session, to be held in the next few days, will be a qualitatively new stage in the life of all of society. It was particularly emphasized that the cooperative movement in the Soviet Union is being developed today on the basis of Lenin's ideas on cooperatives.

Questions of restructuring, including the problems of improving the political structure of society, will undoubtedly be at the center of the discussion at the 19th all-union party conference. It will be a very important event in the life of the party and the country at the present crucial stage in the USSR's development.

During the talks the sides stated that the friendly relations between the two countries are characterized by onward development and active contacts at all levels.

A.A. Gromyko emphasized that the consistent fulfillment of the accords reached during the meetings between M.S. Gorbachev and N. Ceausescu must help to further improve the efficiency of bilateral cooperation in the political, economic, cultural, and other spheres. In

light of this note was taken of the importance of the practical resolution of joint tasks and the harmonious development of all spheres of Soviet-Romanian relations.

N. Ceausescu declared that people in Romania rate highly the Soviet Union's achievements. Under the leadership of Lenin's party, he said, your country's people were the first in the world to accomplish a socialist revolution and create a worker-peasant state. Over a short period the USSR became a great industrial power. People in Romania also rate highly the exceptional role which your country played in the war against fascism and in the victory over it. We do not understand those "voices" which try to cast doubt on these facts.

For the Soviet people have, on the whole, demonstrated that they have turned their country from a backward into a great country. It now occupies the leading place in the world with regard to many indicators. Would it have been possible, for example, to make the breakthrough into space without advanced science and technology? And all your achievements elicit a very broad response in the world.

A.A. Gromyko remarked that he perceives these words with satisfaction. Neither we nor history, he said, will allow our achievements to be belittled.

A.A. Gromyko's talks with Nicolae Ceausescu were continued in the Romanian State Council building today. Ye.M. Tyazhelnikov, USSR ambassador to Romania, participated in the talks.

N. Ceausescu provided detailed information on the progress in Romania in fulfilling the decisions of the 13th RCP Congress and the national party conference and on the country's socioeconomic development. He emphasized that the role of the Communist Party's political leadership in all spheres of economic life is increasing at the new stage of socialist building. The need to harmoniously combine the enhancement of the role of central organs with growth in the responsibility and competence of enterprises in elaborating and also implementing domestic and foreign policy was noted.

The Romanian leader emphasized the need for the national economy's intensive growth and the most efficient utilization of all material and human resources to implement transformations. The great significance of developing science, education, and culture was spoken of in detail. In Romania emphasis is also placed on forming the new person—a conscious builder of socialism and communism.

The RCP has set society the important general task of switching from extensive to intensive development. This will require new efforts in scientific research developments, which must be aimed at improving the quality of all kinds of labor and, most importantly, the end product of production. Modern planning practice requires scientific research institutes and organizations to be involved even at the initial stages of development.

The task has been set of implementing the first stage of the party's program by 1990—bringing Romania's economy up to the level of an averagely developed socialist country from all viewpoints—and it is intended to realize by the year 2000 the party's tasks in getting Romania to attain the level of a comprehensively developed socialist society.

N. Ceausescu cited a number of figures characterizing the development of Romania's economy and dwelt in detail on the economic problems which the country's leadership and people must still resolve.

At A.A. Gromyko's request the Romanian side described how the principle of self-management of enterprises and territorial units is being implemented and how the principles of economic accountability [khozraschet], self-capitalization, and self-financing are being disseminated.

Such a form as the partial sale of enterprises' basic means of production in the form of shares to the workers and employees who work there has been widely introduced in Romania. The total value of the shares sold must not amount to more than 30 percent of the value of the enterprise itself.

N. Ceausescu also spoke about the education system in the country. It is organized so that every pupil gains a specific trade after graduating from secondary school. It is now necessary to have studied in Romania for 12 years to obtain secondary specialized education. All young people are embraced by 10-year education. The task has been set of ensuring that by 1990 every young man or woman completes the second grade in high school, that is, has studied in school for a full 12 years.

A.A. Gromyko declared that this education system is similar to the structure of secondary specialized education which took shape in the Soviet Union long ago. To obtain secondary specialized education a technical college graduate must also, as a rule, have completed a 12-year course of education.

Opinions were exchanged on the development of cooperatives. N. Ceausescu described what kinds of cooperatives exist in Romania, including agricultural, industrial, and consumer cooperatives, and what laws govern their activity. A.A. Gromyko emphasized that we are now, before the next USSR Supreme Soviet session, discussing the draft Law on Cooperatives in the USSR.

The talks, which are being held in an atmosphere of friendship, cordiality, and mutual understanding, will be continued.

A.A. Gromyko today saw the sights of Bucharest. He was accompanied by N. Ceausescu.

Ceausescu Holds Dinner, Speaks

LD1105233388 Moscow TASS in English 2229 GMT 11 May 88

[Text] Bucharest May 12 TASS—Romanian-Soviet relations based on the solid traditions of friendship and solidarity have powerfully developed in all fields over the years of building socialism, said General Secretary of the Romanian Communist Party, President Nicolae Ceaucescu of the Socialist Republic of Romania. He was addressing on Wednesday the dinner given by him in honor of member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee, president of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR Andrey Gromyko.

Our party and our people, Nicolae Ceaucescu continued, highly appraise Romanian-Soviet relations and are resolved to do further everything that these .elations be increasingly powerfully asserted as a model of relations between neighbour and friendly socialist countries, which actively cooperate and interact in struggle and in the labour effort in the name of successfully building a new society in our countries, the cause of socialism and triumph of peace the world over. He spoke about the labour achievements of the Romanian people, who make every effort to implement the decisions of the 13th congress and national conference of the Romanian Communist Party for the country's transition by the end of the current decade to a new stage of development—that of a medium developed socialist country.

We permanently bear in mind, the Romanian leader said, that socialism is built in every country in different conditions, that of substantive significance for the victory of the new system is the consistent creative application of the general principles and regularities of socialism in the specific conditions of each country.

Nicolae Ceaucescu spoke highly of the Soviet-American INF Treaty and emphasized that humanity's future cannot be ensured through new weapons, but only through the ultimate elimination of all nuclear and chemical arsenals, a substantive cut in conventional weapons, troops and military budgets, through pursuing the realistic policy of cooperation and mutual understanting among all states.

Romania, he said, resolutely works for turning the Balkans into a zone of peace and mutual understanding, a zone without nuclear and chemical weapons, without foreign troops and military bases, for the holding of a conference at a high level of the heads of state and government of that region. At the same time we support the creation of zones without nuclear and chemical weapons in the north and in the centre of Europe and in other regions of the world.

Gromyko Addresses Dinner

LD1205084488 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 2040 GMT 11 May 88

[Text] Bucharest, 11 May (TASS)—Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, and his wife, gave a dinner today in the State Council Palace of the Socialist Republic of Romania in honor of Andrey Gromyko, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman, and his wife.

With Andrey Gromyko were Soviet officials accompanying him on the trip.

In the hall were party figures and statesmen of Romania.

Nicolae Ceausescu gave a speech to those gathered.

Andrey Gromyko gave a speech in response. He said:

First and foremost I would like to express my gratitude to Comrade Ceausescu, general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania for the invitation to visit your country and also for the warm reception that we have been given.

I have visited Romania, acquainted myself with Bucharest and had contacts with the working people of your country on more than one occasion. The hospitality that we experience on your soil are evidence of the stable goodneighborly relations that exist between the fraternal peoples of the Soviet Union and the Socialist Republic of Romania.

Our relations are deeply rooted. That is not just a formula of diplomatic courtesy. The very facts of history—past and recent—are evidence of that.

At the beginning of the century, one of the routes along which Lenin's 'Iskra' reached Petersburg and Moscow was through Bucharest and Iasi—Romanian socialists helped the Russian Social Democrats in this. This was at the dawn of the revolutionary movement that was soon to shake the entire imperialist system to its foundations, and in Russia in October 1917 toppled the bourgeois-landowner system.

Nor has history forgotten the fact that the crew of the red battleship Potemkin, undefeated by tsarism, brought its ship to Romania, where it found sympathy on the part of the working people. This was imprinted deep in the hearts of Russia's revolutionary masses.

At the closing stages of the World War II, Romanian soldiers went into battle against fascism shoulder to shoulder with Soviet liberators. On the road to fascism's lair, there were many graves of Romanian fighting men next to those of Soviet soldiers.

In these spring days of May, in celebrating the anniversary of the victory over fascism, Soviet people recall those who forged this victory in joint struggle. The present alliance of the fraternal countries was born in the heat of fierce battles.

It may be rightly said that since those times Soviet-Romanian relations have been nurtured from a fountain of friendship which has become strengthened by the common nature of their goals in building socialism.

Gazing down today from the peak of the 1980's, we can see that the road our peoples have traveled in building a new life has not been an easy one. Nor is the road to the future likely to be like an even and smooth highway.

For our part, we Soviet Communists are confident that by drawing the strength of their creative designs from the energy of the people and their desire to overcome everything that stands in the way of further progress, we shall be able to impart the necessary dynamism to the development of our society.

It is to this end that the course of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the 27th Congress is subordinate. This course is personified in the weighty word "restructuring." It means that the party seeks answers to the complex questions put forward by the realities of life not beyond the bounds of socialism, but, on the contrary, in its development, in the consistent implementation of Lenin's profound ideas, in revealing the powerful potential of socialism and in the revolutionary renewal of all aspects of the life of Soviet society. In carrying out large-scale reforms, the CPSU and the Soviet state consider the main element in them to be concern for people, since in the final analysis the opening up of their constructive powers and creative capacities depend on how they feel and to what extent they sense themselves to be masters in their own country, in public life and at their work station.

The process of restructuring in our country has set in motion the many-million-strong masses of working people. It is gaining and will gain in strength through radical economic reform and the in-depth democratization of public life, with the utmost broadening of glasnost.

Restructuring embraces all aspects of the economy, the social sphere, culture and science, and people's very thinking. Our party's Central Committee has raised these questions with absolute directness in its decisions.

The party has directed its collective intellect and experience toward carrying out fundamental reforms and achieving an acceleration of socialist construction and an improvement in the lives of the working people.

The tasks we face are complex and difficult, but the party and people are fully determined to overcome all obstacles that are encountered today and can be encountered tomorrow.

An important landmark in our forward movement will be the coming 19th all-union party conference, which will broaden the horizons of the transformations, determine the contours of the restructuring of the political structure and indicate the way for enhancing the role of the bodies of people's authority.

In tackling the great tasks facing Soviet people, we are striving with great interest and attention to study the experience of other socialist countries.

Existing forms of cooperation between the Soviet Union and Romania cover various spheres. We can note considerable positive results as our joint asset. However, the dynamics of the development of socialism are putting forward the latest tasks and requiring that its potential be put into operation more fully and thereby that the content of Soviet-Romanian relations also be enriched, their return be enhanced for the peoples of the two countries and all areas of cooperation be made more fruitful.

The main thing now is to embody the prospects for Soviet-Romanian ties in concrete deeds. A good foundation for this is provided by the results of the Bucharest talks between Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and Nicolae Ceausescu during the official friendly visit by the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee in May last year.

Subjects of constant concern nowadays are aspects of the extension and deepening of mutually beneficial economic links, and the raising of the effectiveness of bilateral cooperation. The desire for this is mutual, which is completely natural.

As is indicated by world practice, specialization and coproduction, and the international division of labor are more progressive forms of interaction than a simple increase in the exchange of goods.

They channel production considerably better toward scientific and technical progress, and make it easier for our products to achieve their common goal of boosting their competitiveness of our products on the world market. There is nothing surprising in the fact that these issues are regularly discussed by our countries' representatives.

Looking to the future of Soviet-Romanian economic relations, we see their fabric as richer and of greater variety. This general proposition, correct as it is, must be translated into the language of specific programs of cooperation.

Direct business relations between enterprises, various forms of joint production facilities, broad contacts at various levels in the scientific and technical sphere, and

joint development work by scientific and design collectives are the most effective. Their use would enable both countries to develop progressive scientific and technological trends more successfully.

Just as the waters of the Danube are the result of the confluence of a multitude of tributaries, so too our relations are made up of the thousands of threads that link the Soviet and Romanian peoples. Further broadening contacts between party organizations, labor collectives, individual regions, districts and towns, and border areas, and of friendly links between people, would promote our mutual enrichment.

The picture of our cooperation will probably be incomplete if one does not mention our links in the sphere of culture, science, and education and through friendship societies, trade unions, youth, women's and other public organizations, the creative unions, tourism, and sports. The potential for developing cooperation in all these areas has still not been revealed to the full.

I rather think that the bodies of people's power in the two countries will have their authoritative say in this regard. Who better than they could set in motion a solution of those matters, which frequently occur as a result of narrow departmental approaches? We are convinced that there is great potential in this respect. It is only necessary to utilize all levers and powers for effectively influencing an improvement and deepening of cooperation between the Soviet Union and Romania.

Each year is symbolic for its anniversaries. This year we are marking the 30th anniversary of the Soviet-Romanian Friendship Society. It has written many memorable pages in the book of history, embodying in concrete matters the mutual attraction of the peoples of the two countries to a study of each other's life and to an increase in contacts between people.

Nowadays it has 6 republican, 9 oblast and 16 town and rayon sections. Over 800 collectives represent industrial and agricultural enterprises and cultural, scientific, and higher and secondary school institutions. Even broader horizons lie ahead in the work of society. They are opened up by our peoples' mutual wish to further strengthen their fraternal alliance and friendship.

Permit me also, on behalf of the Soviet leadership, to express a few thoughts about international affairs.

The beneficial influence of the new political thinking is becoming increasingly tangible in world politics. This is natural. Mankind is moving toward the day when the present, 20th century will give way to the new, 21st century. The two centuries are, figuratively speaking, looking each other straight in the eye.

Of course, the question of what legacy our age will bequeath to the future is already posing itself with full force. All people, without doubt, wish this legacy to be peace, disarmament and, above all, the elimination of nuclear weapons.

No sensible person will deny that many dozens of states and even whole continents are living in conditions of indigence and lawlessness, oppressed by the servitude and dependence imposed on them by certain major industrial powers. Disarmament and the transfer of the resources released by this into rendering assistance to the needy coutnries would be one of the most effective ways of eliminating this economic servitude.

Of course, the United Nations, whose work is hindered by those who do not wish to give up the arms race, could also do much in this regard.

The duty of all states, large or small, irrespective of the particular social system in whcih individual peoples are living and developing, is to do everything in their power to ensure disarmament and peace on earth.

The impression left by the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles that was signed in Washington is still fresh in mankind's memory. It has been interpreted as a triumph for reason.

At present, as is known, intensive negotiations are under way aimed at concluding an agreement on the reduction of the Soviet Union's and United States strategic offensive weapons, while observing the ABM Treaty. The removal of all obstacles in the way of the signing of this agreement is an important and complex, but quite resolvable, task. It can be resolved if both sides desire an agreement equally and if they are fully resolved to crown the talks with positive results.

That is what the Soviet Union is trying to achieve for its part. It is filled with such a resolve and is doing everything in its power to successfully pass this historic landmark on the path to the full elimination of nuclear weapons. One would like the negotiations during the forthcoming visit to Moscow by the U.S. President to pass off in precisely such a spirit.

We highly appreciate the efforts of fraternal countries that are directed at removing the nuclear threat. In this respect, the initiatives of Romania and Bulgaria in setting up a zone in the Balkans free of nuclear and chemical weapons meet with our full backing. The realization of this idea as well as other constructive proposals by the Balkan countries would be an important contribution to the process of disarmament, the arranging of regional and pan-European cooperation and the strengthening of security and trust in Europe.

The world public welcomed with enormous satisfaction the signing in Geneva of the agreements on Afghanistan. They have not only been a step toward peace in the

region, but have convincingly shown that a political settlement of regional conflicts is the right road in international affairs. They have demonstrated again to all people the attractiveness and effectiveness of the new political thinking and the peace-loving foreign policy course of socialism and the Warsaw Pact member states.

Permit me to wish the working people of Socialist Romania great success in implementing the decisions of the 13th congress of the Romanian Communist Party and also happiness and prosperity.

May the unbreakable friendship between our countries and peoples grow in strength!

Attends Bucharest Concert

PM1205102988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 12 May 88 First Edition pp 1, 4

[TASS report under general heading: "Meetings on Romanian Soil"]

[Excerpts] Bucharest 11 May—A.A. Gromyko's talks with Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP general secretary and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, began in the Romanian State Counciul building in Bucharest 10 May. [passage omitted]

In the evening a big gala concert in honor of the distinguished Soviet guest was given at the Romanian Atheneum. A.A. Gromyko and his wife and N. Ceausescu and his wife attended.

Talks Give 'New Impetus'

PM1205110388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 12 May 88 First Edition p 4

[V. Vedrashko and O. Losoto dispatch: "Steps in Cooperation"]

[Text] Bucharest, 11 May—Today is the second day of the official friendly visit to Romania by A.A. Gromyko, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. This visit represents a continuation of Soviet-Romanian contacts and is evidence of our countries' expanding cooperation.

The Long-Term Program for the Development of Economic, Scientific, and Technical Cooperation between the USSR and Romnania Through the Year 2000 signed in Moscow in May 1986 was an important milestone in the strengthening and development of the two peoples' friendship and cooperation. M.S. Gorbachev's visit to Romania in May last year and his meetings with N. Ceausescu gave renewed impetus to the traditional relations of friendship between the Soviet Union and Romania.

The Romanian newspapers, which have devoted special features to the visit, stress that Soviet-Romanian relations have deep roots in the historical past, in the traditions of working class solidarity and our countries' revolutionary movement, and in the struggle for liberation from oppression and exploitation.

The years of socialist building, ROMANIA LIBERA writes, have seen the rich pages of joint struggle augmented with new factors—a community of system and ideology—as a result of which ties between our peoples have risen to a new level.

The Romanian mass media are noting that the Soviet Union is Romania's main foreign economic partner. The agreement signed by the two countries envisages that the volume of mutual trade turnover in 1986-1990 will increase 70 percent in comparison with the last 5-year period. The country plays an active part in multilateral and bilateral cooperation within the CEMA framework. Examples of this cooperation include industrial enterprises on USSR territory to whose construction Romania contributed: the Ust-Ilim pulp plant, the Kiyembay asbestos production facility, and the working of the Orenburg gas field. Today too Romania is participating on mutually advantageous terms in joint work at the Yuzhno-Ukrainskaya AES, the provision of surface facilities for the Sovetabad gas field, and the construction of the Krivog Rog ore combine.

In the international arena socialist Romania actively advocates peace, disarmament, and the elimination of nuclear weapons. It welcomed the Soviet-U.S. agreement on the elimination of intermediate- and shorter-range missiles in Europe and supports the socialist countries' initiatives aimed at improving the international situation and reducing military confrontation.

...Bucharest is basking in summer warmth. The life of the city, which is bathed in the perfume of chestnut and lilac trees, is proceeding in its normal working rhythm. The distinguished Soviet guest's visit is adding new business-like dimensions to this rhythm.

The first friendly meetings on Romanian soil have taken place, and the official talks have begun. As SCINTEIA notes, A.A. Gromyko's visit will represent a new contribution to the development and expansion of the friendly relations between Romania and the Soviet Union.

West Europe

More on Visit of FRG's Vogel to Soviet Union

Received by Gorbachev

PM1205101188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 12 May 88 Second Edition p 1

[TASS report under headline "M.S. Gorbachev Talks With H.-J. Vogel"]

[Text] Mikhail Gorbachev met with Hans-Jochen Vogel, chairman of the Social Democratic Party of Germany (SPD), in the Kremlin on 11 May.

The meeting marked another step in developing ties between the political forces of countries, on whose relations European and international affairs depend.

These ties are getting ever more substantive, and exchanges of opinions and thoughts in an open manner and a spirit of goodwill make it possible to have a better grasp of the pressing problems of the times.

Being completley independent, both parties use the evolving dialogue to the benefit of their nations and in the interest of the European process, disarmament, security, and improvement in the international situation.

Gorbachev and Vogel expressed satisfaction with this character and quality of party-to-party links.

Their conversation covered a very wide range of important matters. These were topped by problems of perestroyka (restructuring) in the USSR, in which, according to Vogel, a tremendous and keen attention is being shown both in his party and in the Federal Republic of Germany in general.

People, he said, want to have a correct idea of the significance of Soviet perestroyka to relations between the two countries and peoples and to the present and future of Europe and the world.

Responding to a request by his interlocutors, Gorbachev told them frankly and in detail about what has made perestroyka indispensable and about its theoretical and political logic that determines the phases, methods, and pace of change.

He described the problems and difficulties of radical economic reform, the public moods, the role of glasnost (openness), and the pivotal, pervasive significance of democratization.

He shared the considerations that led to the conclusion about the need for taking up thoroughly the political system, the formation of a legal socialist state in the full sense of the word, which the upcoming all-union party conference will be chiefly devoted to discussing.

M.S. Gorbachev's interlocutors asked specific questions on perestroyka's progress. The questions asked stemmed from the interest of their party and those whom it represents in the success of perestroyka in the USSR. Mikhail Gorbachev drew attention to the fact that along with great and well-wishing interest in very different circles of foreign society in what is taking place in our country, there are also highly influential forces that would like to hamper perestroyka, to foil it.

They examined in detail the topical problems of disarmament in the context of the current talks and the upcoming Soviet-American summit. The lively exchange of views bore out a similar approach to fundamental questions that the placing of weapons in outer space is inadmissible; any "modernizations" and "compensations" leading to depreciation of the INF Treaty are inadmissible; a speedy conclusion of an all-embracing convention on a chemical weapons ban is important, and it is advisable to create as an interim measure a corresponding European zone, which, as Hans-Jochen Vogel put it, could be useful also as an experimental field for testing the effectiveness of future control methods; the pressing need to finally start talks on a conventional weapons cut in Europe along the principles of non-offensive defense at the lowest possible level with mutual elimination of assymetries was also noted.

The value was stressed of the initiatives stimulating the general process of disarmament, which were put forward jointly by the Social Democratic Party of Germany, the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia.

The CPSU and the SPD have many points of contact in their views on the "common European home" idea. This was reaffirmed during the conversation once again. Gorbachev stressed when speaking of the idea that it covers countries with different social systems, all the nations making up modern Europe.

The common understanding was expressed that despite the difficulties encountered on the way to a secure world and despite disarmament having serious opponents, it is important to remain both optimistic and realistic.

It is essential to see the dangers correctly and to reveal their causes and criticize their carriers, but it is also essential to see that the great mass of the world public, the peoples, are developing, in Vogel's words, a "new mentality" and thus creating prerequisites needed to warrant the irreversibility of nascent positive processes.

Considerable attention was paid to Soviet-West German relations. Gorbachev and Vogel voiced content with their nature and their lately increasing dynamism, as reflected in meaningful contacts between the Soviet leadership and influential West German politicians and in the agreement on forthcoming summits.

With a view to concretizing and stimulating bilateral cooperation, Vogel made a number of proposals on the economy, culture, humanitarian contacts, and acquaintance with production and management experience. The proposals were received with interest and will be considered.

Some other issues concerning the further development of interparty bonds were discussed as well.

Participating in the meeting were A.F. Dobrynin, V.V. Zagladin, A.S. Chernyayev, V.S. Rykin, H. Koschnick, K. Voigt, K. Khent [name as published], D. Stobbe, Yuta Titke [name as published], Z. Vinder [name as published], and Ambassador A. Meyer-Landrut.

Visits Foreign Ministry

LD1105202588 Moscow TASS in English 1706 GMT 11 May 88

[Text] Moscow May 11 TASS—Soviet Deputy Foreign Ministers Anatoliy Kovalyov and Vladimir Petrovskiy today received Hans-Jochen Vogel and officials accompanying him for a meeting that covered some pressing international issues.

Giving tribute to the memory of Soviet troops who fell fighting Nazism, Vogel placed a wreath to the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier at the Kremlin Wall.

Meets With Moscow Mayor

LD1105203088 Moscow TASS in English 1708 GMT 11 May 88

[Text] Moscow May 11 TASS—Hans-Jochen Vogel, chairman of the Social Democratic Party of Germany (SPD) who is staying in this country at the invitation of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee, was today received at the Moscow City Soviet (council).

In the town hall's white room he was greeted by Moscow Mayor Valeriy Saikin who thanked Vogel for the fact that, despite the program of his stay here being action-packed to capacity, he still had found a possibility to call at the Moscow City Soviet.

"I have had solid reasons for this," Vogel explained. "I was the ober-burgomaster of Munich for 12 years and I still take an interest in municipal problems, even though many years have gone by since that time."

"And I believe," the guest added, "that if there are good contacts between cities and their leaders, this is good for their nations as well."

The conversation that ensued was frank and passed in an atmosphere of goodwill. Saikin told Vogel about Moscow and about the forthcoming major events planned here, including the 19th national party conference, a Soviet-U.S. summit and observances marking the millenium of Christianity in Russia.

The Moscow mayor did not conceal the complex problems facing the municipality which is working hard to resolve them. This includes efforts to improve social services and step up housing construction.

"We need to learn to work in the new conditions," Saikin said. He noted Muscovites' increasing social activity and gave several specific examples of increased glasnost (openness) in the city.

The SPD chairman thanked him for the interesting information. He said that earlier in the day he and accompanying officials had been received by Mikhail Gorbachev who had given them an idea of what perestroyka (restructuring) meant for the entire Soviet Union.

After that, Vogel continued, they had been received at the Foreign Ministry and briefed on perestroyka in the nation's diplomacy. The meeting at the town hall on perestroyka in Moscow had been very interesting as well, he added.

Speaks at IMEMO Session

LD1205122888 Hamburg DPA in German 1010 GMT 12 May 88

[Text] Moscow (DPA)—SPD Chairman Hans-Jochen Vogel has called for a change in the political status quo in Europe and a fair balance of interest between East and West. Stronger cooperation between the blocks would raise the security of all people and lead to more freedom and social justice, Vogel said today in a speech to the World Economics and International Relations Institute [IMEMO] of the Soviet Academy of Sciences in Moscow. But a condition for the maintenance of peace was the acceptance of the territorial status quo in Europe. The "European common home" could only be habitable if the cultural, political, and economic diversity of all its inhabitants is respected and all its residents allowed mutual access to the stairways and hallways.

Europe needed "a new form of pluralism and tolerance," in which open discussion about the advantages and disadvantages of the individual systems had to be possible. Peaceful competition without dogmatic chains now had to follow the removal of enemy images and the contrasts between East and West.

Vogel was convinced that different goals and competing social systems would continue to exist even in a future European system of peace. The argument between the ideologies would continue and would not end with a victory by one of the systems. However, a "qualitatively new pluralism" with system-transcending common interests could emerge from the present contrasts. Whoever wants to overcome the division of Europe must build new bridges between East and West today. However, the prerequisite for a peaceful change was stability. As long as there was no violence-free system of peace, backing by a military alliance was necessary. The SPD accepted membership in NATO. In the present conditions in Europe, only in this way was an adequate defense capability of the Federal Republic guaranteed.

According to Vogel, the U.S.-Soviet treaty on the worldwide destruction of land-based INF missiles should only be the first step toward Europe's entry into nuclear disarmament. The SPD supports the continuation of this

process with the missiles having a range of less than 500 km. It was also pressing for success in the conventional disarmament negotiations and for a worldwide ban on chemical weapons.

The creation of conventional stability from the Atlantic to the Urals, to keep defense capability at the lowest possible level, was now decisive for the safeguarding of peace in Europe. Therefore, a reduction in the Soviet numerical superiority in tanks would be welcomed not only in the Federal Republic as a "practical expression of new thinking in the Soviet security policy," said Vogel. The final goal had to remain a Europe without nuclear weapons.

In the end, however, it was about more than just disarmament. For the first time since the end of World War II, there existed the political possibility of moving away from positions that had always resulted in the buildup of ever-greater military capability. Through negotiations between governments, but also at other levels, it was now necessary to examine how security in Europe could be further enhanced. Here, Bonn and Moscow could take common steps that would lead to a European system of peace that really deserved the name.

Vogel recommended a simultaneous and coordinated process, as well as cooperation, which would overcome the "walls of borders just as much as the walls of prejudice," and advance the realization of social and individual human rights. The problems of Europe could only be solved in a climate of trust and willingness to cooperate.

In a new phase of detente, Berlin would also have to be included, the SPD head also said. His party was pressing for Berlin to become a "positive symbol" of the deepening of cooperation between East and West.

FRG To Fund Development of 'Nineties Fighters'

PM1105160588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 7 May 88 Second Edition p 5

[Own correspondent Yu. Yakhontov dispatch: "What About Official Statements? FRG: About the 'Nineties Fighters'"]

[Text] Bonn, 6 May—By a majority of votes from representatives of the ruling coalition of the Christian Democratic Union, the Christian Social Union, and the Free Democratic Party, the West German Bundestag's Defense Commission has adopted a decision which it had been seeking for several years. I refer to the question of the allocation of funds for the development and acquisition by the FRG Air Force of 200 "fighters of the nineties."

According to the assurances of supporters of this project, against which representatives of the Social Democratic Party [SPD] voted (the "Greens" did not attend the session at all), it will take DM22.3 billion, of which DM5.8 billion will go on research work. However, newspapers write that realistic estimates indicate that this militarist venture will cost taxpayers far more—at least DM60 billion, not counting the major political costs which Bonn cannot avoid.

Britain, Italy, and Spain are also involved in creating this machine (it will have two jet engines and develop a speed at least twice the speed of sound). It is proposed that development of the new aircraft will be completed by 1997. Six missiles with, we are assured, conventional warheads will comprise its basic armament. The new fighters, each of which will cost DM83.2 million, are to replace the Phantoms currently in service with the West German Air Force.

Thus as a result of the decision adopted by the Bundestag commission, the viewpoint of M. Woerner, one of the most zealous "hawks" here, who is giving up the post of defense minister in the next few days, has triumphed in Bonn. The NATO secretary general's seat awaits him.

The new fighter was given the "green light" despite warnings from the Social Democrats, who believe that this step by Bonn runs counter to the efforts now being made by the Soviet Union and the United States in the disarmament sphere. The SPD representative on the Bundestag Defense Commission called it "irresponsible." Nor does it tally with official Bonn's statements of its desire for "a world with the smallest number of weapons...."

It evidently does not occur to the FRG champions of continuing the arms race that the tens of billions of marks which will be spent on developing and acquiring the "fighters of the nineties" and which will make vast profits for the military-industrial concerns could far more profitably have served to resolve the many social problems in the FRG itself.

Economic Cooperation Talks Begin With FRG

Joint Projects Discussed

LD1105222788 Moscow TASS in English 1935 GMT 11 May 88

[Text] Moscow May 11 TASS—The Soviet-West German Commission on Economic, Scientific and Technological Cooperation opened its 16th session here today to discuss ways to step up business contacts and ties in research and engineering between the two countries.

Speakers noted that the Federal Republic of Germany has been comfortably in the lead among the Soviet Union's trading partners in the West, but trade between the two nations over recent years has been on the decrease.

Participants in the session explained this largely by the fall-off in the world prices of fuel and the low dollar rate.

They noted also, however, that the sides' efforts to buck the unfavorable trend in their trade have yielded first results, including an encouraging 6-percent gain in bilateral trade in the first three months of 1988.

Over this period Soviet organizations contracted to buy one billion roubles worth of machines and equipment from West Germany. At the same time, lists were drawn up of Soviet goods for additional export to that country, which would help significantly broaden bilateral commercial exchanges.

The session is discussing practical possibilities for the involvement of West German firms in large-scale economic projects in the USSR, in particular the comprehensive modernization of the consumer goods and food industries, the development of natural resources in the Kola Peninsula, and the tapping of oil and gas in West Siberia. Work on some of the projects can begin in the near future.

There is a large potential in broader cooperation between the Soviet Union and the FRG in agriculture, the nuclear power industry, and the peaceful uses of outer space. Joint efforts in these fields could be based on extensive use of new forms of business contacts, including joint ventures.

A positive view was expressed at the session of the development of business links between individual lands in the FRG and Soviet constituent republics.

The delegations to the session are being led by Aleksey Antonov, a deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and West German Economics Minister Martin Bangemann.

Maslyukov Receives Bangemann

LD1105190888 Moscow TASS in English 1400 GMT 11 May 88

[Text] Moscow May 11 TASS—Yuriy Maslyukov, alternate member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee, first deputy chairman of the Soviet Council of Ministers and chairman of the State Planning Committee, today received West German Economics Minister Martin Bangemann.

He acquainted the minister, at his request, with the main trends and special features of radical transformations under way in the Soviet economy and with the practice of introducing cost-accounting principles into the work of enterprises and production amalgamations, including cooperatives.

The sides discussed further development, to mutual benefit, of commercial and economic ties between the Soviet Union and West Germany, and the participation of West German firms in implementing large-scale projects on a long-term basis.

FRG's Bahr on Soviet Security Initiatives

PM1205111988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 12 May 88 First Edition p 1

[TASS report: "Liberation From the Threat"]

[Text] Rome, 11 May—The restructuring and glasnost processes currently taking place in the Soviet Union are part of a historic experiment offering Europe stability and security. Europe must make use of this chance, prominent FRG political figure Egon Bahr, director of the Hamburg Institute of Peace and Security Problems, stated in Rome Tuesday.

Addressing the participants in a NATO military college seminar which has ended in the Italian capital, he stated, in part: "What Soviet leader M.S. Gorbachev is proposing represents the liberation of Europe and the entire world of the possibility of the threat of wear.... What else can the West possibly demand? It would be simply insane to insist on continuing the arms race."

Defense capability must match the threat, Bahr continued. So when the threat declines, defense funds should also be cut. I, therefore, disagree with the type of rearmament and development of new weapons systems known as "modernization."

Bahr expressed satisfaction that at their meeting in Bern, the USSR and U.S. defense ministers discussed the two countries' military doctrines, stressing that "the more each side knows about the other, the better." He urged the seminar participants not to "shut the door" on the USSR's proposals for strengthening security in Europe.

Commentaries on Results of Danish Elections

NATO 'Arms Twisting'

LD1105154588 Moscow World Service in English 1110 GMT 11 May 88

[Aleksandr Pogodin commentary]

[Text] Now here is a commentary by Aleksandr Pogodin on the outcome of elections to the Danish Folketing legislature.

[Pogodin] The recent parliamentary elections in that small north European country were given unprecedentedly extensive coverage by the world news media. The explanation for this is simple enough: Last month the Folketing, in defiance of the stand taken by the government, adopted a resolution aimed at strengthening an important principle Denmark had adhered to for a long time—not to allow the delivery and deployment of nuclear arms on Danish soil in peace time. That decision annoyed not only the government but also Denmark's senior NATO partners, which accused it of betraying

Atlantic solidarity and threatened it with different political and economic sanctions. In short, Denmark was subjected to NATO's usual practice of arms twisting and exerting pressure on the ally which becomes disobedient.

The coalition government of Poul Schluter dissolved the parliament and appointed time for new elections. During the election campaign Danish voters were showered with the arguments used by the United States, Britain, and NATO leadership in condemning the Folketing's anti-nuclear resolution. The ruling parties even announced that the implementation of the resolution would allegedly hinder the East-West negotiations and the process of disarmament. This thesis was obviously absurd but in an election campaign, it seems, anything can be used.

The results of elections are controversial. The four party ruling coalition retained its representation, but its hopes to gain a majority in the parliament didn't materialize. Moreover, Schluter's own Conservative Party, the leading party in the coalition, even lost three seats. The major opposition parties also sustained losses. In the meantime, the rightist Progress Party, whose main slogans were to belong to NATO unconditionally and to limit access to Denmark for immigrants, considerably expanded its representation.

Now the coalition government, if it is formed on the same basis, will have to depend on the rightist forces in one way or another. It is hard to predict what will happen to the Folketing's anti-nuclear resolution, but it is clear that the governing parties failed in their attempts to force Danish voters to yield to NATO's demands.

NATO 'Pressure' Plays Role

LD1105162188 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0945 GMT 11 May 88

[By TASS commentator Vladimir Voronkov]

[Text] [No dateline as received]—Yesterday, for the second time in the last 8 months, Danish voters went to the polls. These early elections were called by Prime Minister P. Schluter in connection with the failure of the coalition cabinet to agree on the Social Democrats' resolution that was approved by parliament on more stringent rules regarding port calls by foreign warships carrying nuclear weapons. The results of the voting, which for the first time in 60 years is being conducted because of foreign policy differences, were to determine whether this Scandinavian country has the right as a NATO member to make independent decisions or whether its participation in the bloc just boils down to the passive role of a "stopper in the Baltic Straits." In NATO they also kept a constant eye on the elections. For the NATO leadership, the antinuclear resolution of the Folketing (parliament) had become an insurmountable obstacle to the implementation of the strategy of "nuclear deterrence." Besides this, this decision by Denmark could, in the manner of dominoes, prompt similar steps by other NATO partners and promote the creation of a nuclear-free zone in northern Europe.

The voting on the resolution, which was proposed by the Social Democrats and the Popular Socialists, was the 23d defeat for the Schluter government in parliament on foreign political problems from the moment that it came to power in 1982. In each case of this type, the opposition parties managed to get the cabinet to take action in the interests of disarmament and relaxation of tension. This has given Denmark the reputation of being an awkward and obstinate ally at NATO Headquarters, where the bourgeois government has, in accordance with the decisions of the Folketing, expressed various reservations when militaristic decisions have been made.

A storm of all possible kinds of threats and admonitions fell on the Danes at all levels: The accusing finger "insistently pointed" to the undermining of full-blooded military cooperation in the bloc, to the possibility of examining the question of Denmark's continued participation in NATO's Nuclear Planning Group, and to the fact that the resolution could badly damage its own security. U.S. Defense Secretary F. Carlucci even believed that the Folketing's decision would influence—negatively, of course—the progress of Soviet-U.S. disarmament negotiations.

After the votes were counted, it became clear that the four parties in the ruling bourgeois coalition, which had opposed the resolution, had succeeded overall in preserving their positions in parliament. They received, as in the preceding elections, 70 of the 179 seats. It was not only the massed pressure from NATO which took its toll in this. The government parties succeeded in foisting on voters the notion that it was a matter not so much of a specific decision by parliamentarians regarding ship visits, as of the country's participation in the bloc in general—and this had its frightening effect during the voting. The stereotype of the growing danger from the East, which has taken root over many long years, also came into play, in spite of the recent overall thaw in the international climate.

The country's largest parties, the Social Democratic Party of Denmark and the Socialist People's Party, the initiators of the document which caused so much fuss, now hold 55 and 24 seats, and as before have a strong influence in parliament, especially concerning foreign policy.

The large bourgeois parties are now thinking about attracting leftist radicals into the government, so as to end, in their words, "the pin pricks of the opposition" and create for themselves a sufficiently stable position in the Folketing during discussion of all problems, primarily those relating to foreign policy.

Musician Reportedly Disappears on Spanish Tour

AU1205132388 Paris AFP in English 1308 GMT 12 May 88

[Text] Madrid, May 12 (AFP)—A member of a leading Soviet rock group has disappeared during a tour of Spain, police here said Thursday.

The missing man, Samuel Savitski, left his Madrid hotel last Tuesday and has not returned, according to the other members of the group Black Coffee.

Police said no application for political asylum had been recorded.

Black Coffee is currently taking part in festivities in honour of Madrid's patron saint San Isidro.

Queen Greeted on Netherlands National Day

PM1205072788 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 7 May 88 Morning Edition p 2

[TASS report on USSR Supreme Soviet message to Queen Beatrix: "Exchange of Telegrams"]

[Text] In connection with the Dutch national holiday, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium sent Queen Beatrix a congratulatory telegram. It expresses the hope that cooperation between our countries will continue to serve the cause of strengthening detente and trust and developing constructive relations between East and West.

In a reply, the Dutch queen expressed profound gratitude for the congratulations and conveyed best wishes for prosperity to the Soviet people.

UK's Thatcher Urges Senate To Ratify INF

LD1105083288 Moscow TASS in English 0823 GMT 11 May 88

[Text] London May 11 TASS—British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher has urged the U.S. Senate to ratify the Soviet-U.S. INF Treaty.

Speaking in the House of Commons of the British Parliament she emphasized the importance of ratifying the treaty.

"I believe there is sufficient time before the President goes to Moscow and one hopes that the treaty will be ratified by that time", the prime minister said.

Moscow Trade Union Delegation Visits Dublin

LD1105191588 Moscow TASS in English 1217 GMT 11 May 88

[Text] Dublin May 11 TASS—The stay of a delegation of the Moscow City Soviet of Trade Unions, led by its Secretary Tamara Chernyakova, was seen here as an important step in developing ties between Soviet and Irish trade unions.

The delegation visited enterprises and took part in the May Day celebrations in Dublin.

The stay of the trade union delegation from Moscow was the first direct exchange between trade union councils of the capital cities of the USSR and Ireland, the chairman of the Council of Trade Unions of Dublin told TASS. Meetings with working people, numerous conversations showed a high level of the development of the trade union movement in the USSR. The chairman expressed the hope that ties between Dublin and Moscow trade unions will continue to develop.

Latin America & Caribbean

Journalist 'Expelled' From El Salvador

LD1205085988 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0832 GMT 12 May 88

[Text] Guatemala, 12 May (TASS)—The El Salvador authorities have arbitrarily expelled from the country Yuriy Stroyev, a correspondent of the Soviet newspaper KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA. He had arrived in the capital of El Salvador by permission of the authorities to report on the situation in the country. The Soviet journalist was approached near the hotel where he was staying by four strangers who suggested that he immediately pack his things and leave the territory of El Salvador.

Yuriy Stroyev is at present in Guatemala City.

Nicaragua's Ortega Comments on Upcoming Talks

LD1105100588 Moscow TASS in English 0932 GMT 11 May 88

[Text] Managua May 11 TASS—By TASS correspondent Andrey Kurguzov:

The Nicaraguan Government is interested in the earliest termination of the war, President of the Republic Daniel Ortega told journalists. Speaking on the forthcoming meeting of government representatives with the leadership of the armed counterrevolution, the Nicaraguan leader pointed out that the future of talks on the final ceasefire was still in doubt because of the infighting among the counterrevolutionaries.

Despite the efforts of the Nicaraguan Government, the Reagan administration tries to sabotage peace agreements, signed in Sapoa, and frustrate the peaceful settlement. The agreement on terminating the war is also hampered by the position of contras who insist on receiving "humanitarian aid" from the U.S. Administration through its channels or through religious organisations, which contradicts the agreements reached. Nicaragua, for its part, reaffirms its readiness to help the armed groups to receive aid through the Red Cross, Ortega stressed.

Cooperation Agreement Signed With Mexico

LD1105132288 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0445 GMT 11 May 88

[Text] Mexico, 11 May (TASS)—An agreement has been signed in Mexico on cooperation in science and technology between the USSR State Agro-Industrial Committee and the Mexican Ministry of Agriculture and Hydraulic Resources. It envisages the exchange of scientific and technical information in the interests of improving agriculture in the two countries. The document, which is valid for 5 years, was signed by V.N. Ingatov, deputy chairman of the USSR State Agro-Industrial Committee, and Eduardo Pesqueira Olea, Mexico's minister of agriculture and hydraulic resources.

Specific proposals on cooperation between scientific establishments of the USSR and Mexico in various fields of agricultural production were offered to the Mexican side.

In his talks with journalists following the signing ceremony, E. Pesqueira Olea viewed favorably the results of and prospects for agrarian cooperation between Mexico and the USSR. Our countries, he said, share some problems in the field of agriculture, the solutions to which can be shared also. Mexico, he noted, is interested, among other things, in improving the system of organization of rural producers and passing them new production technologies, which would make it possible to raise the living standards of the peasants and make education and culture easily accessible to them.

Political & Social

Editor Comments on Gorbachev-Media Meeting

LD1105230888 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 11 May 88

[Text] [Ruvinskiy] A report was published in the press today on the meeting at the CPSU Central Committee with leading figures of the mass media, ideological institutions, and creative unions. We telephoned one of the participants, Gennadiy Nikolayevich Seleznev, editor in chief of the newspaper KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA.

[Begin Seleznev recording] These meetings have already become traditional and I ought to say that we always impatiently wait for them so as to check watches, check points of view, check standpoints, and to listen to one another. I for example, believe that this meeting is important for me because I have the opportunity to hear firsthand the view of the general secretary of the party's Central Committee and the views of my colleagues on those very topical issues that face the mass media today. The meetings are conducted in a comradely and principled atmosphere and I, for example, dream that some day our Central Television will record such a meeting, and perhaps show a live report. This material would be important. You could sense the atmosphere that reigns in this hall. It seems to me that it would be useful for party workers and soviet and Komsomol workers to watch, since it is essential for them to reform their relationship with the local press, in work with correspondents of the central newspapers, and since we constantly come up against instances in which such a comradely and fundamental conversation with the mass media frequently does not work out.

Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev said that we ought today to revive the great meaning of the word comrade. Indeed, it often happens that precisely a comradely, fundamental relationship, based on party principles, between the leaders of local papers and television and radio programs does not work. After all, the spirit of running things by orders and decrees, the desire to appear in every issue of a paper, to prompt, to demonstrate, to doubly ensure a newspaper have still not yet been eliminated. This is, in my opinion, what we must all avoid today and what today we are all leaving behind. I believe that a program such as this would be useful, if only as a lesson on how we must communicate with one another today under contemporary conditions.

The meeting was held in a very important period, literally on the eve of the 19th all-union party conference. Of course we had accumulated questions and we wanted to hear the approaches of the Central Committee of the party to the conference, the views of both secretaries of the party Central Committee, and the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee on how the conference will proceed, on what documents are being prepared, on what the procedure for electing delegates will be. We received this information in the most detailed form. Today, thanks to the newspaper account, all Soviet people were acquainted with this information. [end recording]

'Democratic Union' To Hold September Congress

AU1205131588 Paris AFP in English 1040 GMT 12 May 88

[Text] Moscow, May 12 (AFP)—An opposition political party created by dissidents called the Democratic Union will hold a congress in September to elect its leadership, a spokesman said Thursday. Yuriy Mityunov said the party delegates were unable to elect a leadership Wednesday because the KGB, the state security agency, broke up the meeting and arrested several members. He said the 14-member organizing committee would run the party until then. Mr Mitiunov said he would continue a hunger strike to protest his treatment by the authorities.

The Democratic Union, which seeks to promote a Western-style democracy in the Soviet Union, has been harshly condemned by the official news agency TASS.

Activities Described

PM1205092688 Milan L'UNITA in Italian 9 May 88 p4

[Giulietto Chiesa dispatch: "Birth of Opposition Party in Moscow?"]

[Text] Moscow—Is a second party about to be born in the Soviet Union—an avowedly "opposition" party that already has a name (Democratic Union) and that will fight "for a multi-party system and for political, economic, and ideological pluralism"? This is apparently the very intention of a group of some 150 people who met Saturday in Moscow's Krasnaya Presnya quarter to discuss a fully fledged "platform declaration." The promoters, formed into an organizing committee, are not well-known intellectuals. Some of them have been imprisoned for dissident activities. Their chief spokesman is a woman of approximately 40, Valeriya Novodvorskaya, who in the early seventies was tried and imprisoned for attempting to found an independent trade union. Two other spokesmen are Yevgeniya Debryanskaya and Yuriy Denisov. They say they want to rally to the "Democratic Union" people "with various political convictions—from Eurocommunists to socialists and supporters of Western models of democracy." They condemn "not only Stalinist terror but also the red Bolshevik terror that began in 1918 and the communist terror directed against the peasants during the collectivization period." The crisis of Soviet society, they say in the declaration, "stems from totalitarianism." The "chief source of the people's tragedies in the past 70 years are not the crimes of individual leaders or groups but the entire single-party system." Their ideological reference points are those of liberal democracy. They call for the abolition of democratic centralism "in society" and the "legal right to conduct propaganda on behalf of

a different social order." "Our road to democracy, the declaration adds, "is based on de-ideologization—not, of course, through the elimination of all ideologies but through the establishment of equal rights between the dominant communist ideology and all the rest."

Already inherently entirely "heterodox," the platform becomes explosive when it condemns "resolutely the (Soviet—L'UNITA editor's note) occupation of the Baltic region and eastern Europe" and when it calls for national and republican referendums in which the USSR's peoples can decide whether to remain within the Union or to detach themselves. Such demands are so unrealistic as to prompt the unavoidable suspicion that they could lend themselves—perhaps despite the promoters' intentions—to outright provocations directed against those struggling for glasnost and democratization, laboriously and amid innumerable obstacles. All the more so since the document by no means appears to be the product of ignorant minds in its proclamation of "agreement with the ideas of a radical and revolutionary restructuring," while reserving the right to "further develop those ideas" and declaring "support for the forces within the CPSU which—not in words but in deeds—seek to carry out democratic reforms, using their positions within the leading party." "We are willing," the document concludes, "to cooperate with these party forces...we are not seeking confrontation and will not evade reasonable cooperation with the state but we will not compromise with it on moral matters or on our platform." The "Democratic Union" plans to hold its constituent congress in June (just as the discussion of preparations for the party conference is gearing up.) The police, present in force, prevented neither Saturday's meeting nor that by a group of workers who gathered yesterday in three separate Moscow apartments. The "Federation of Socialist Clubs" declined to participate in the initiative which it described—as one of its spokesmen told us—as "very dangerous and ambiguous." Meanwhile PRAVDA announced yesterday that on Saturday Mikhail Gorbachev had a large meeting with representatives of the media, the creative unions, and the ideological institutions. Not only the general secretary but all the members of the Secretariat and Central Committee were present. There were 14 speeches. The account of the meeting will not be published until today, however. Over the past few days the press has been full of signs of an increasingly lively debate on how the 19th congress should be organized. PRAVDA yesterday carried a number of letters all on a single topic: how to clean up the party.

Weekly Comments on Sakharov, Perestroyka

LD1105165688 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1543 GMT 11 May 88

[Text] Moscow, May 11 (TANJUG)—The weekly newspaper MOSCOW NEWS has described Andrey Sakharov as an "active and fully equal participant in perestroyka." This is the first instance of public political rehabilitation of the well-known scientist, who has already been rehabilitated as a citizen.

For many years the academician had been the Soviet Union's number one dissident, having spent several years in exhile in the town of Gorkiy.

It was not before Mikhail Gorbachev took over as the party general secretary that Sakharov was permitted to return to Moscow to resume both his scientific and socio-political work.

Sakharov was visited in his small, two-room apartment in Moscow, which he shares with his wife Yelena Bonner, by a reporter for the popular Moscow weekly. The reporter pointed out that the famous physicist is the author of texts which are undeniably linked to and have much in common with the present social reconstruction drive in the country.

It was because of the same texts that Sakharov was publicly criticized and prevented from carrying on his work.

The MOSCOW NEWS cites an interesting detail which says a lot about Sakharov's straightforwardness and courage. Once in Gorkiy he was visited by an author who had alleged in a book, sold in millions of copies, that Sakharov was living in an "atmosphere of oriental luxury, scandals with his wife and academic vegetation." Sakharov first demanded a written apology for all the lies set out in the book, but having been refused, he told the author: "I regret that duels are forbidden in our day."

Murder Trial of Sumgait Rioter Begins

PM1205115788 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 12 May 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Trial in Sumgait"]

[Text] Sumgait (Azerbaijan SSR), 11 May—An Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Court panel of judges for criminal cases chaired by A.K. Klokov, member of the Supreme Court, embarked today on the examination of the case of T. Ismaylov, a fitter at the Azerbaijanskiy piperolling plant, who is accused of having taken part in the riots in Sumgait in February of the current year. With hooligan intent he committed deliberate murder with aggravating circumstances.

Religious Figures Hold News Conference

LD1105181888 Moscow TASS in English 1607 GMT 11 May 88

[Text] Moscow May 11 TASS—The press-conference, which has been given today at the publication's department of the Moscow patriarchate for Soviet and foreign newsmen, was devoted to the millenium of the baptism

of Russia. The press-conference was conducted by Metropolitan Filaret of Minsk and Belorussia. The press-conference was also attended by Metropolitan Filaret of Kiev and Galich, Metropolitan Yuvenaliy of Krutitsy and Kolomna, Metropolitan Mefodiy of Voronezh and Lipetsk, representatives of the publication department and the journal of the Moscow patriarchate.

The press-conference was told that the celebrations on the occasion of the millenium would begin on June 5. The celebration service in Moscow's patriarchal Cathedral of the Epiphany will be given by Patriarch Pimen of Moscow and all-Russia, members of the holy synod and the clergy of the cathedral.

On June 6 the local council of all hierarchs of the Russian Orthodox Church will open in the Trinity-St Sergius Lavra, the monastery in the city of Zagorsk in the Moscow region. The local council will last till June 9.

On June 11 and 12 divine services will be given in St Daniel's Monastery. A meeting with the patriarch and representatives of the orthodox churches who came for the celebrations will be held th into three groups and go to Kiev, Vladimir and Leningrad, where the celebrations will continue.

Metropolitan Filaret of Minsk and Belorussia said that guests from many foreign countries are expected to visit the Soviet Union on the days of the celebrations. They will be the heads and representatives of the orthodox churches, a delegation of the Roman Catholic Church, representatives of ancient Oriental churches, a large group of figures of the Protestant churches. Among the visitors also will be delegations from international and regional Christian and public organizations.

Representatives of other religions, with which the Russian Orthodox Church is linked by the service of many years for peace have been invited for the celebrations. We have already received 400 letters of acceptance of our invitation, the metropolitan said.

Among the questions asked by newsmen there were many in connection with the new law of the freedom of conscience being drafted in the Soviet Union. It is yet too early to speak about the details of that document, Metropolitan Filaret noted. As far as the time of its publication is concerned, we hope that it will be adopted in the current year.

The hierarchs, who participated in the press-conference, were asked the question what they think about the speculation in the West about "lack" of the freedom of religion in the USSR. The answers did not deny that there had not always been mutual understanding between the church circles and representatives of the government. The church objected, for example, against the closing of churches in the sixties. For a long time the church had raised the question of the turning over to it of a part of the sacred orthodox shrine—the Kiev-Pechersk Lavra, which is a museum now. This question was also raised at the recent meeting of Patriarch Pimen and other hierarchs with Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. The Soviet leader assured that the question of the Lavra (monastery) will be examined by the government.

Elaborating on that subject, Metropolitan Yuvenaliy touched upon the stand of President Reagan, who poses for a "defender of faith" in the USSR. The metropolitan said in that connection that he believed that stand of the President to be dubious. The President can hear many voices but not those of the pastors of the Russian Orthodox Church. Thus the messages from Patriarch Pimen to the U.S. President, for example, have remained unanswered. At the same time the White House lends an attentive ear to "consultants" who when staying in Russia had no authority among their flock. Thus the recent "religious seminar" in the White House was attended by people who have nothing to do with the Russian Orthodox Church. Some of them were specially brought from Europe. Meanwhile the bishops—envoys of the Russian Orthodox Church staying in the USA and Canada have not received invitations for that meeting but they could have given the most authoritative evidence of the situation of the church in the USSR. "All that is, deplorably, indicative of the tendentiousness in Mr. Reagan's approach to our affairs," Metropolitan Yuvenaliy said.

Answering the question of "prisoners of conscience", who are allegedly victimized for their faith, Metropolitan Filaret said that he did not know of any cases of prosecution for religious convictions. He confirmed that there are believers even priests among convicted persons, yet they were tried for crimes. The metropolitan noted in that connection that some foes would like to instigate the church to a confrontation against the state under any pretext. "The church will never embark on that path. Our calling is to unite people but not to disunite the society," he said. "We have never settled our problems with the assistance of the mass media of the West. And we will resolve them only the way bequeathed to us by the patriarchs who administered the church after the Russian Revolution."

Ligachev, Dolgikh Attend Radio Day Meeting

PM1105134788 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
7 May 88 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "In Honor of the Festival"]

[Text] The resolute restructuring of the economic mechanism and the introduction of the latest achievements of scientific and technical progress are the most important conditions for the accelerated development of means of communication, electronic equipment, radio, and television. The way this task is being resolved was discussed at

a ceremonial meeting devoted to Radio Day—the professional festival of working people in all communications sectors. It was held in the hall of columns of the House of Unions in Moscow 6 May.

In the presidium were Ye.K. Ligachev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee; V.I. Dolgikh, candidate member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee; V.S. Pasternak, chief of a CPSU Central Committee department; leaders of a number of ministries and departments; and representatives of the capital's public.

V.A. Shamshin, USSR minister of communications, delivered the report. He emphasized that for the successful realization of the plans outlined by the 27th CPSU Congress working people in the communications sectors must concentrate efforts on improving the quality of industrial and domestic equipment, extending the telephone network and zones of assured television program reception, and improving services to the population.

Leaders Sign Obituary of Movie Actor

PM1105164188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
7 May 88 Second Edition p 6

[Obituary of Oleg Petrovich Zhakov]

[Excerpts] Soviet art has suffered a grave loss. USSR People's Artist Oleg Petrovich Zhakov, outstanding Soviet movie actor and winner of USSR state prizes, has died in his 84th year. Many pages in the history of the Soviet cinema are associated with his name. [Passage omitted]

V.I. Vorotnikov, L.N. Zaykov, Ye.K. Ligachev, A.N. Yakovlev, P.N. Demichev, G.P. Razumovskiy, Yu.F. Solovyev, N.V. Talyzin, Yu.P. Voronov, Yu.A. Sklyarov, A.N. Aksenov, V.G. Zakharov, A.I. Kamshalov, A.D. Lizichev, V.I. Mironenko, Ye.M. Chekharin, S.A. Shalayev, V.G. Afanasyev, A.V. Batalov, A.A. Belyayev, I.S. Boldyrev, S.F. Bondarchuk, A.V. Vasnetsov, Ye.I. Gabrilovich, A.N. Gerasimov, A.Ya. Degtyarev, G.S. Zhzhenov, Ye.V. Zaytsev, A.G. Zarkhi, T.V. Zakharova, V.V. Karpov, E.G. Klimov, N.A. Kryuchkov, L.A. Kulidzhanov, K.Yu. Lavrov, T.F. Makarova, G.M. Markov, A.N. Medvedev, Yu.S. Melentyev, I.A. Naumenko, Yu.Ya. Rayzman, S.V. Renchis, A.S. Smirnov, N.Ya. Sychev, V.V. Tikhonov, M.A. Ulyanov, I.Ye. Kheyfits, V.Ya. Khodyrev, T.N. Khrennikov.

Obkom Criticized for Continued Failings

PM0905124588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
5 May 88 Second Edition p 1-2

[Special correspondents Yu. Makhrin and Yu. Shcherbin report under the rubric "PRAVDA Monitors the Implementation of a CPSU Central Committee Resolution"; "The Lotus Is Withering"]

[Excerpts] Astrakhan—Now, when we are preparing for the 19th all-union party conference, there are more and more letters in the editorial mailbag about the need to step up monitoring of the implementation of adopted decisions. Monitoring by all available means, including the press. PRAVDA intends to follow this line systematically.

A year ago the CPSU Central Committee adopted a resolution "On Serious Shortcomings in the Restructuring of the Work of the Astrakhan Party Obkom." How is this resolution being implemented? [passage omitted]

The Central Committee resolution leveled the sharpest criticism at the obkom for its failure to make a party-minded assessment of the phenomena of stagnation which have accumulated in work with cadres. It noted: "At oblast leadership level there are quite a few people who have gotten used to a quiet life, who are not committed to their work, are incapable of working in the new fashion, and do not look to the future."

Has anything changed in this sphere? Yes, there are certain changes. The most odious individuals who, in an atmosphere of connivance and lacking supervision, abused their positions and drank heavily while at work have been "catapulted" from leading positions. Some 40 percent of obkom department chiefs have been replaced. One-third of gorkom and raykom first secretaries have been renewed. New people have also gained access to the "helm" at the oblispolkom....

However, people who are incapable of taking matters in hand at the sectors entrusted to them still abound. The criticism leveled at them within the walls of the obkom is routine. It is measured criticism used as a means of retaining "personally devoted" people.

People in Astrakhan have developed a liking for electing leaders. Announcements in newspapers about competitive elections to posts of enterprise directors have become customary. Five CPSU Raykom first secretaries and one in three secretaries of primary party organizations have been elected by secret ballot from among several candidates.

However, glasnost and democratization in cadre policy has not risen above the rayon component. "It ground to a halt at this level," B. Moroz, first secretary of the Privolzhskiy Raykom said. Nominations to the oblast top echelons are still decided behind closed doors and are not put up for discussion."

The promotion of V. Arakelyan, for instance, is regarded as a notorious example by Astrakhan inhabitants. He worked as the editor of the oblast newspaper VOLGA about which the Central Committee resolution said: "The newspaper has failed to adopt an active stance in raising the acute and fundamental problems of restructuring." "A publication which glosses over problems"—this is how the central press described this amazingly reticent newspaper. Yet the editor was promoted to

become CPSU Obkom secretary for ideology. Students attenting evening courses in Marxism-Leninism confronted their lecturers with the perplexed question:

"Does the obkom really need such a subservient, complaisant person now?"

The lecturers themselves do not understand it. When the new secretary summoned them for their first meeting, allegedly for a frank discussion, he killed any hope of a heart-to-heart talk from the outset by declaring: "Only questions submitted in writing will be accepted!"

Hedging, as we can see, is deeply ingrained in the soul of the newly elected obkom secretary. No question of courage, no question of liberation, no question of a wealth of feelings and ideas! No question of cutting through the ice!

It is no wonder that in the gorkom of the oblast center too the effectiveness of ideological work is to this day measured according to the number of questions examined in the course of the year at bureau sessions rather that the state of people's hearts and minds.

"All kinds of adopted measures come to nothing, peter out, after being launched with the impetus of a gale force wind in oblast organizations and reaching a dead calm by the time they get to labor collectives," this is how V. Zhilinskiy, a member of the obkom, put it. "It is necessary to adopt a bolder approach to consultations with the people, to organize more question-and-answer sessions and debates."

Many of the people we talked to expressed concern at the fact that there is no real reserve of people suitable for nomination. The young obkom organizational department chief explained the situation as follows: "We are trying to build up experience...." But how is this being done? The "Cadres" program, decided upon by the plenum when it discussed the Central Committee resolution, was to have been approved back in July 1987. It is still not ready. Yet while there is no system for the selection, deployment, and training of organizers, people are frequently nominated to high posts not so much because of their professional aptitude, as for all sorts of extraneous reasons.

Many obkom officials, both young and old, are not competent enough, V. Bezzhonov, director general of the Astrakhan shipbuilding production association, believes. He blames the bureau cadre policy for this. True, L.A. Borodin, first secretary of the obkom, cited figures at the plenum as to how many party officials had been replaced and where. However, the percentages convey little that is worth knowing, in any case they contain no information about the quality of the changes. I could not say that all the changes were made with the interests of the cause at heart.

"He simply muscled in"—was the comment we came to hear about one nominee. He lacks the know-how, but he is ensconced. Does this not provide the breeding ground for the administrative-edict style of work?

Both economic managers and gorkom and raykom officials are complaining in unison about the incompetence of obkom officials. In particular, they are criticizing those in charge of industry and construction for not knowing enough about their job. "They are skating over the surface," "Frequently they submit minor issues, raised in a slapdash manner, for discussion by the bureau," "Their voice is firm, but their words are empty."

A recent obkom plenum concluded: "The main hampering factor lies in the preponderance of the edict style of work." Everyone unanimously condemns this style of work but it continues to flourish.

What is the work of the obkom like at present?

From early morning the telephone is ringing at enteprises and on farms: "How much milk have you got?" Yet the milking may not even be finished yet. Party officials are acting the part of dispassionate statisticians. They worship up-to-the-minute data and regard them as the main criterion of their own competence and the basis of effective party leadership of the economy. They do not ask more of themselves.

The oblast leaders claim that obkom officials are now frequent visitors at local level and that they have come closer to the front line of the restructuring effort. This is supposed to have dealt with the criticism expressed in the Central Committee resolution to the effect that sham efficiency takes the place of real work. It is true that obkom officials are traveling more. And the result? Let's listen to what V. Turchenkova, Volodarskiy raykom first secretary, has to say on the subject:

Numerous commissions come and go. They collect all kind of data and information and then they leave with the feeling of having done their duty.

It often happens that no sooner have the officials of one department left, officials from another department arrive. Everyone for themselves. Departmentalism, everyone looking only after their own patch, duplication... An obkom each of whose whose fingers is in every pie—as Astrakhan inhabitants put it in their letter to PRAVDA. A great many "important" meetings are held at which the style of work characterized by pressure and intimidation flourishes. Secretary K. Voronova is especially fond of this style.

N. Kabikeyev, chairman of the Ikryaninskiy Rayon kolkhoz named for Kirov is disheartened:

G. Bakharev, chief of the fishing industry department, held a meeting the day before yesterday. Fishermen from three rayons were summoned. We came out of the meeting, looked at each other, and asked ourselves: "Why did they summon us? After all, nothing has been decided!"

Meanwhile the sector is in a lamentable position. The precious fish that has been caught frequently perishes because the processing base is hopelessly outdated and the Ministry of the Fish Industry is in no hurry to resuscitate it.

An unbelievable, but true story. The fishermen put out their nets, sparing no effort, pleased that they will be able to put food, to put a sought-after delicacy, on people's tables. They bring in their catch and it rots on the shore (from the head downward, you understand). "Kaspryba" refuses to accept it. Or to allow that it be sold. On the principle: It is ours, not yours. It is the fishermen's turn to cry. What else can they do? They have a contract specifying what and how much to catch. Yet their catch is allowed to perish. Sometimes the only thing to be had in the shops are sturgeon heads. Local people are joking good-naturedly: "Is there such a thing as a sturgeon with a body and a tail?"

The obkom's style of work...

Evaluating it, V. Kustov, fitter at the Kharabali cannery, said on the plenum rostrum:

Most of the bureau decisions remain mere pieces of paper.

There are a great many documents some of which are contradictory. "We have got ourselves into a muddle with all this paperwork!" Yu. Kruglov, deputy chairman of the oblispolkom laments.

Meanwhile, Astrakhan party gorkom officials are beside themselves with anger. They have received an obkom bureau resolution instructing them "To discuss and elaborate measures and report their implementation by..." The measures relate to organizational work...among livestock raisers and farmers. There is only one small hitch: There are no fields or livestock units in the city.

So here is the face of formalism. There is life in the old dog yet! And here is another eloquent "gesture." The obkom demands (demands!) that it be notified of critical remarks and proposals expressed by Communists. Party committees cautiously collate people's ideas and a worthless document is dispatched to Astrakhan. And ating the work of the Astrakhan party obkom, the CPSU Central Committee noted: "The work is characterized by an absence of initiative in ensuring radical changes in the main spheres of acceleration..." That is the social sphere (when questioned, members of the elected aktiv put it first and foremost as regards urgency), industry, and agriculture. Both in the obkom report and the report dispatched to Moscow, soft, you could say pastel tones predominate. Figures, which can only be described as crafty, are cited about the growth of capital investments, about topping last year's level. They represent a clear attempt to avoid analyzing the causes of the only 95.8 percent fulfillment of the housing construction plan, only 65 percent of the preschool children's establishment plan, and 93 percent of the school construction plan.... The provision of amenities at production units is passed over in silence in spite of the fact that at 90 percent of livestock units elementary recreational facilities are lacking.

The equipment shift index is lowest in the Volga region oblasts. One in three enterprises fails to fulfill the labor productivity plan, and contract deliveries are frequently disrupted.

Nonetheless, the most alarming situation prevails in rural areas. The oblast occupies one of the last places in Russia as to its milk yields (1.856 kg per cow) and is thus sponging on the country. Sometimes milk has to be imported. The volume of agricultural production decreased by 6 percent in 1987. Targets for the purchases of meat, wool, vegetables, and water-melons were not met. Profitability barely exceeded 4 percent.

The Central Committee resolution directed the obkom toward a quest for unorthodox solutions to pressing problems. Such a quest is under way in the Kuban and in Tula where agro-industrial associations are being set up, and in Belgorod where the city is focusing its attention on rural areas transforming the level of their technological equipment. Meanwhile in Astrakhan apathy predominates as regards everything new. The oblast agroprom has turned into a bureaucratic machine which is spawning a flood of instructions. Last year 1,330 instructions were dispatched to rayons. This is quite unprecedented. To the accompaniment of sweet babble about the development of initiative, rural workers have been tied hand and foot with all kinds of instructions.

Incidentally, an oasis of rural life has survived on the Krasnoyarskiy Rayon "Druzhba" Kolkhoz. Here one team is achieving the highest vegetable yields in the oblast—in excess of 500 quintals. By what miracle has this oasis survived? We learn that the team is made up of...apprentices. Not one of the Gosagroprom instructions has reached them, luckily. They do not get invited to raykom or obkom meetings. The youngsters, who come from families of vegetable growers, take their instructions only from the land.

Incidentally, after paying the kolkhoz for the land, the wear and tear of equipment, the fuel, and fertilizers, the youngsters were left with a net profit of R143,000 which they invested in a swimming pool.

Restructuring is marking time in the oblast. "We are still trying to come to grips with it; meanwhile the time has come for vigorous actions." This is what obkom members and many other Astrakhan citizens are saying. They believe that the working people's activeness is increasing and the party committee members who have been elected to implement an effective policy will either have to quicken their pace so as not to fall behind, or else give up their posts to make room for people who are capable of ensuring that the life-giving sap can reach the roots of the withering lotus.

Sochi Gorkom Leader on Battle Against Graft

PM1005092788 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 30 Apr 88 Second Edition p 6

[Interview with Yu.N. Polyakov, first secretary of Sochi CPSU Gorkom, by an 4 million vacationists and tourists.

We were in Sochi at the end of last summer. Our most famous resort, a major center for international tourism, seemed packed to bursting point with vacationists. The city beach was crammed. The shops, cafes, and parks were full to overflowing.... The airport and the rail terminal were enormously overloaded. True, we also noted something else. The unprecedented influx of resort visitors, both those who were in organized groups and those who were not, commonly called "rovers," were looked after quite efficiently.

At that time we called on Yu.N. Polyakov, first secretary of Sochi CPSU Gorkom. We passed on to him a sizable bundle of letters received by the editorial office. He agreed that the gorkom would study them.

Now we had another meeting with Yuriy Nikolayevich. [passage omitted]

[Correspondents] We happened to call at Dagomys, where luxury hotels, concert halls, restaurants, and bars are being built....

[Polyakov] I know what you are referring to. Many foreigners take their holidays in that area, and our regulations are by no means to everyone's liking. We have to come to terms with this. But I would like to draw the attention of union law enforcement organs to the following point. Expensive rooms which, to be frank, most of our citizens cannot afford are sometimes occupied by the same old people. And girls of easy virtue crowd around them and the foreigners like moths around a flame. I have heard that a "morals militia" has been created in the Baltic republics, that is, special departments to combat drug addiction, prostitution, and AIDS. It would not be a bad idea to set up such departments on the Black Sea coast.

[Correspondents] The letters were not only from vacationists but from residents of the city. Why didn't we approach the gorispolkom? In particular because the party gorkom, in addition to resort problems, is having to concern itself with moral and political ones. The sensational "Sochi cases" are widely known from pieces in PRAVDA and other newspapers. When the local rogues were brought strictly to account, this was imprinted on our minds as the beginning of a cleanup in the society. On the initiative of those of our party's leaders who were not idle even in the stagnation period.

The trial of the Sochi "mafia" took place a long time ago, its ringleaders were severely punished, and different people are in power in the city. But Yu. Polyakov, who was chief of a party kraykom department before this, is not very sanguine even today. Weeds are sprouting now in one place, now in another, on the fertile Black Sea coast.

[Polyakov] Where do you think you get telephone calls from if you try to take some leader or trade worker in hand? Right, from Moscow itself, from some substantial department. They say: Aren't you going a bit too far, my dear fellow? Aren't you laying it on a bit thick? The old connections remain and the thieves still dream that their time will come again. Some hope!

Something else is also very important—we must finally ensure social justice in housing allocation. For example, there is massive pressure from a number of citizens who are trying to extract additional living space for themselves.

[Correspondents] As you have seen, PRAVDA's mailbag frequently mentions that an entire group of people has emerged in the city who actually "contract" to prepare complaints. They have obtained duplicating equipment, they have card indexes and files, and they charge for their services.... Is this true?

[Polyakov] I think so. Of course, there is nothing bad about someone writing about his concerns and worries, helping an illiterate old person to do this, and making constructive suggestions. But there are people who operate a production line in complaints. They send them to central, kray, and city organs, and they sometimes aim to discredit leaders, cast aspersions on them, create worries for them, and make them ill.

[Correspondents] Agreed. But, obviously, we should not forget instances of victimization for honest, truthful letters. Yuriy Nikolayevich, obviously you know about the tragic fate of the teacher V. Dotsenko?

[Polyakov] Of course.

[Correspondents] Vasiliy Filippovich once wrote about certain city leaders who tolerated violations and abuses. But instead of looking into the reports, they started to victimize the old Communist and even put him in prison. But it has turned out that the letters were correct.

[Polyakov] We specially discussed Vasiliy Filippovich's complaints in the Gorkom Bureau and officially deemed his expulsion from the party and conviction to be unfounded. Apologies were published in the newspapers SOVETSKAYA KUBAN, CHERNOMORSKAYA ZDRAVNITSA, and UCHITELSKAYA GAZETA, which had carried articles critical of Dotsenko. A number of party workers, in particular, G. Parish, first secretary of Tsentralnyy party raykom, and V. Porkhachev, secretary of that same raykom, and the chiefs of the CPSU Gorkom and Raykom organizational departments, have now been relieved of their posts.

[Correspondents] But V. Dotsenko asserts that these measures are not connected with his "case." They left their posts for different reasons. His victimization for criticism was not strictly assessed.

[Polyakov] Well, it is not too late to return to this question. But I would like to stress: In recent years, particularly since the CPSU Central Committee April [1985] Plenum, we have done a considerable amount of work to increase the militancy of party organizations and develop democratic principles, criticism, and self-criticism. There was pointed discussion at the party gorkom plenum and the bureau session about the articles "Criticism in Disgrace" and "Using Outmoded Criteria" published in PRAVDA. The leaders who had deviated from the norms of party life, law, and morality and had tolerated instances of formalism and red tape have been severely punished. I hope that there will be no more of the "Sochi cases" which have reverberated throughout the country. Life, restructuring, and the people who lead it and who are struggling for it will not brook this.

[Correspondents] Such confidence is getting stronger everywhere. All the same, renewal does not arrive spontaneously. The fight against those who infringe party and civic norms continues. In letters which PRAVDA has received quite recently readers report cases of violations of democracy, abuse of official position, nepotism, and persecution for criticism. For example, S. Shamina, a surgeon at Khostinskaya Dental Polyclinic, and A. Stebliyuk, a worker at the "Dagomysskiy" Tea Sovkhoz (incidentally, she has written more than once), and others write about this.

[Polyakov] I will not deny that such instances have still not been totally eradicated. But we formulate the question thus: Those leaders violating the law must be severely punished. And so it will be with everyone who cannot give up old methods and habits. [passage omitted]

Tambov Obkom Chief on Public Opinion Research

Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 28 Feb 88 pp 1-2

[Interview with Ye. Podolskiy, first secretary of the Tambov party obkom, by A. Pavlov, SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA correspondent; date and place not given—boldface and italics as published]

[Text] The CPSU Central Committee February Plenum emphasized that the entire party must clearly understand that only through democratization can the human factor be fully included in the deep reforms of all aspects of society's life, in the real processes of management and self-management.

Careful study of the opinions, the mood, and the needs of the people, of the entire atmosphere in the work collective, the city, the region is one way of helping to affirm democratism. For example, public opinion study councils have been created and sociological groups are operating under the Tambov party obkom, gorkoms and raykoms. Ties have been established between the obkom and the Institute of Sociological Research of the USSR Academy of Sciences. Ye. Podolskiy, first secretary of the Tambov party obkom, reflects on the reserves for democratization discovered in the process in a talk with A. Pavlov, our correspondent.

I will begin with an example of the flexible, living reaction of a party official to people's opinion. Last spring, the Michurinsk Automotive Repair Plant was in the process of electing a new manager. Chief engineer Ye. Antonov and party gorkom instructor V. Borzykh were in the reserve for this executive position. And they were nominated as candidates. In the course of the discussion, the collective spoke at first timidly and then more confidently about a third candidate: machine shop chief V. Korotkov. What was to be done?

A mere 2-3 years ago, such a turn of events would have been called a calamity and there would have been insistence on nominating only "official" candidates. But now there is not basis whatsoever for speaking of a special situation. In my opinion, F. Sushkov, first secretary of the party gorkom, behaved correctly: he did not interfere, he did not disrupt the business atmosphere. V. Korotkov, together with the other candidates, was allowed to present his program for extricating the collective from its lagging position, and his name was entered on the list of candidates for election by secret ballot. Of the 459 votes cast, 398 were cast for him.

Nevertheless, the unexpected outcome of the elections at the automotive repair plant was an alarm signal that we are not yet studying the opinion of people in sufficient depth and that we are not discerning the different nuances in their positions. It is these considerations that have prompted the wider use of sociological research. For example, approximately 1700 persons at 15 oblast enterprises answered questions of a poll tentatively called "The Strategy of Acceleration." Naturally, the important thing is not the number of people polled: we want to have a more precise knowledge of people's position and to correlate it with public interests.

[Question] *But can it be that party officials before now did not understand the importance of taking public opinion into account?*

[Answer] They understood but they acted without taking it into account in actual practice. Their hearing was tuned more to the voice up above; only a tiny part of their ear could hear the voices from below. They managed by predominantly administrative, commanding methods which generated passivity, indifference, and social dependence. The principal task of party organizations is to extricate every worker from this inert state. The present rise in civic activism is the direct result of present social change. Only through the consistent development of the democratic forms inherent in socialism can we move forward. Only through democracy and as a result of democracy is perestroyka itself possible.

Society needs a citizen who is educated and convinced, who at the same time is a searcher, who knows how to live and work under the conditions of democracy and economic independence. That is how the question was posed at the February plenum of the Central Committee in whose work I participated. But in order that this demand of the time would be implemented, we must decisively renounce the style and methods that formed during the years of stagnation. Learning democracy—that is how the party poses the task today.

[Question] *What is the oblast party organization doing to realize this slogan?*

[Answer] We are genuinely helping economic managers, for example, to appreciate the difference between one-man command and autocracy in production, to view public opinion not as a hindrance but as a real help in the work. Collectives are learning how to separate business-like initiative and daring innovation from demagogy and capitalizing on popular theses. Democratization is directly connected with glasnost. Today there are no topics that are closed to discussion. The most pressing and important problems are posed at meetings and in various types of talks. There are now more meetings, more frank talks with people directly in their workplace or at their place of residence.

Let us take the selfsame Michurinsk. Just a year ago there was an endless flow of letters. The city's residents were for the most part complaining about problems in their everyday life, about red tape in dealing with many mundane issues. The party leadership was clearly not in command of the situation. It was reelected/replaced in the name of change for the better. The gorkom's work style became more democratic and more attentive to the interests and needs of the average person. The number of complaints dropped sharply and there was a change in their character.

This process is also typical of the oblast in general. The just demands of people are met sooner, particularly by the local party and soviet organs and by economic organizations. The population has become more active both in its work and politically. The party obkom has now begun receiving more letters raising socially significant questions. Here are some lines from a letter from A. Lunev, a worker at the Kotovskiy Plastics Plant: "People who are successfully fulfilling their production assignments and who set the example in their everyday life are elected delegates to party congresses, members of party organs, and deputies to the soviets. I think this is not enough. It is necessary to take into account their civic and party position, their principles in the struggle against stagnation and red tape, their ability to defend the public interest." Such letters are the sign of today!

Many collectives have roused themselves and awakened from their torpor. This is the sign of the new moral and political atmosphere that the party has affirmed since the April (1985) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee.

I will cite one more typical example. Communists and non-Communists at an open party meeting at the Uvarovskoye automotive enterprise sharply condemned V. Surkov, their chief, for his haughtiness and indifference to people and raised the question of his dismissal.

[Question] *Yevgeniy Mikhaylovich, what do you think of the opinion of some leaders regarding the "costs of democracy? Their anxiety is not without foundation. Let us say that there appears a new type of time-server who is prepared to castigate shortcomings endlessly but is not prepared to change his way of working.*

[Answer] The advocates of the old methods of management, of the notorious commanding, pressure style do indeed try to frighten us with the complete license, the irresponsibility, and the anarchy that are supposedly connected with democratization. But in actual fact, it seems to me that they do not want to relinquish their secret principle: "I do what I please." Democracy presupposes not only equal rights but also equal obligations and equal responsibility of everyone before the law. If the work collective elects itself a manager, then in accordance with democratic principles, he also has the obligation to carry out its orders conscientiously.

Democratization clearly shows who is who and what he is capable of doing. To be sure, however, important documents clearly also relate that time-servers who know how to speak well and who loudly criticize shortcomings have crawled to the surface. But this is the end of their energetic activity. Just as soon as matters come to a head, they have no practical proposals and do not venture to bring anything more upon themselves. There are more than a few such examples when a slacker, a habitual absentee, or a slipshod worker, realizing that he will sooner or later come under fire, undertakes to "expose" his superiors so as to create for himself a crown of thorns as one who is persecuted for his criticism. A relentless struggle must be waged against such "democrats" to separate the wheat from the chaff. After all, they not only think up shortcomings, but also operate with real negative facts. This requires that all collectives

create an atmosphere of wide glasnost and mutual objective demandingness. I want to refer once again to sociological research that provides considerable food for thought.

Communists in the "Tambovmash" Production Association were asked: "What would you do to improve matters if you were the director of the association, the secretary of a party committee, or the chief of a shop?" The answers forced the administration and the party committee to think because many shortcomings were revealed in the style of management and in the organization of production. Measures were devised to correct the shortcomings named in the questionnaire.

[Question] *This is probably not the most difficult case.*

[Answer] Probably not. There frequently arise such serious problems that they cannot be resolved by ad hoc measures. A large group of officials of the CPSU obkom and the elected party aktiv thoroughly analyzed the work of primary organizations in the town of Kirsanov and Kirsanovskiy Rayon. Sociological research that was also carried out here showed in particular that almost two-thirds of the Communists do not take part in preparations for meetings. One-third of the respondents declared that they considered the resolutions that are adopted useless and that they vote for them only because "everyone else does." The habit of speaking frankly only in the lobby still has not been overcome. Communists conversing among themselves speak about shortcomings and make good suggestions. However many of them still do not venture to call things by their true names and to speak out candidly at meetings. Purposeful efforts of the entire oblast party organization are needed here. Precise information on shortcomings made it possible to begin this work without delay.

[Question] *The new methods of management will also evidently accelerate democratization processes. Is that not so?*

[Answer] Yes, direct ties and feedbacks are in evidence here. It is now more than a year since 18 oblast industrial enterprises and associations were converted to full cost accounting and self-financing. When we analyze their work we can easily see that success has come to those whose preparations were good. For example, before the "Komsomolets" plant converted to self-financing, it studied its essence and particulars in depth and addressed economic and organizational questions. The party committee and administration concentrated primarily on schooling cadres in economics. In the months that elapsed following the inauguration of the new economic relations, the plant realized R4.4 million in profits and labor productivity rose by almost 12 percent. Social life is also in full swing here and self-management is developing. However it cannot be concluded that we are entirely ready to work under the new conditions. Take economics, for example. Some economic managers still cling tenaciously to the belief that "higher ups" will continue to take care of the enterprises, allocate resources to them volitionally, and help them out when they get into trouble. They themselves, however, take no serious measures to instruct everyone in the fundamentals of economics, to introduce true cost accounting, and to democratize production relations.

When I say this, I do not absolve the party obkom, gorkoms, and raykoms and the primary organizations. They must do better work with cadres.

We are introducing elections everywhere. Last year alone, there were multiple-candidate elections of executives in more than 800 collectives.

[Question] *But some party committee secretaries believe that the primary organizations must remain neutral in order to ensure the free expression of the collective's will. They say: Why bother creating a reserve and training it if there is the possibility the recommended candidate will not be elected?*

[Answer] We do not justify neutrality in any way: democracy presupposes the freedom to campaign for candidates. Incidentally, to avoid accidents the reserve, too, should be formed on a democratic basis and the nomination of candidates should be based on the collective's opinion. That is what we do even though we, too, have still not freed ourself from our habitual formalism. The collective's point of view is sometimes determined in haste for the sake of form, of the report, of giving the impression that it is in step with the times.

[Question] *On the other hand, the collective is also not infallible. It, too, can elect the wrong person.*

[Answer] That is what happened at the "Tambovapparat" plant, for example, where V. Tolmachev was elected shop chief with all the democratic rules being observed. He proved to be unprepared for this role and resigned after several months, realizing that he was unable to cope with his new duties.

I add that there are occasionally not only errors but deliberate negative actions as well. Elections have occasionally been used to get rid of a leader with principle and to replace him with someone who is less demanding.

Such examples are not isolated cases. Behind them are the mistakes of primary organizations and the administration and the habit of going with the flow. Now, in order to recommend its candidate to the people the party organ must have firm proof that the candidate is suited to the position, must know the opinion of the collective, the candidate's actual successes on the job and his participation in public life, and all his strong and weak points. The study and careful screening of potential candidates is the express duty of party committees and party organizations.

Party Conference Proposals Published

18120072 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 15, 17-24 Apr 88 p 8

[Text] What I would say at the 19th Party Conference [subhead]

The country is preparing for the forthcoming 19th all-union party conference to be held in June. Perestroyka, glasnost and democratization are opening up the way to spiritual emancipation and awakening public thinking. "MN" mailbox shows that each reader regards the party forum as the concern of the whole people, and as his or her personal concern.

Party Rules Must Be Changed [subhead]

First, if today a Communist is elected secretary (from a district committee to the CPSU Central Committee), under certain conditions this may become his post for life. Is that right? I think it would be expedient to make the following changes in the Party Rules:

—the age limit for members and alternate members of the Politbureau and secretaries of the CPSU Central Committee should be 65 years;

—a member of the CPSU should be elected to the Politbureau of the CPSU Central Committee for no more than two five-year terms.

Corresponding limitations should be established for secretaries of district, city, regional and territorial committees, and for the central committees of the Communist parties of the union republics.

Second, concerning the budget of primary party organizations. The Party Rules say that the funds of the party and its organizations are derived from membership dues, incomes from party enterprises and other revenue. At the same time primary party organizations have no other revenue. At the same time primary party organizations have no funds at their disposal even to buy political books for party education, posters, gouache ink for wall newspapers and so on. So, we have to ask for money from the trade union committee.

To avoid this situation, I suggest that up to 20 per cent of the monthly membership dues be left at the disposal of the primary party organization.

S. A. Vyazanichev, CPSU member since 1957 Moscow

No Less Than Two Candidates [subhead]

Among other measures, direct elections of secretaries of party committees—from district committee secretaries to the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee—are necessary to radically improve the activity of all links in the political system, and to raise democracy to a qualitatively new level. For this, no less than two candidates should be nominated for each post.

Leonid Kartsev, party member since 1948 Moscow

Non-Party Opinion Also [subhead]

The existing system, where recommendations are given by Party members and where discussion of candidates is carried out only among a narrow circle of party members, has proved its ineffectiveness. Any system functioning on the basis of self-selection and self-control eventually indulges in self-glorification, hushing up its failures under the cover of mutual protection, as was vividly demonstrated by the lessons of "Stalinism" and "stagnation."

In the context of preparations for the 19th party conference my views on this are:

1. In addition to recommendations from party members, there should be a recommendation from the general meeting of the work collective, to which the given primary party organization is attached, with detailed minutes of all statements and the results of voting.

The meeting may be considered as having quorum if about 80 per cent of the members of the collective are present, if about 80 per cent voted for the recommendation and if there were no objections.

2. Three and not two categories of party membership should be established:

—candidate-member of the party,

—party member,

—Communist.

The category of party membership, transfer from one category to another, upwards or downwards, must be confirmed once every three years according to public approval of the party member from a given work collective, and according to the principles applied when giving recommendations.

3. The virtually ineffective system of party reprimands should be linked with the categories of party membership. Three reprimands, or one reprimand plus one severe reprimand to be entered on the registration card, and for which the category of party membership must be immediately reduced by one degree—disqualifying the candidate.

4. Only Communists should have the right to hold elective party posts and be members of a party body.

What will be the effect of these measures? Party members as candidates for leading posts in industry, culture, ideology, etc., will have their activity regularly assessed not by a narrow circle of colleagues in the party, but by the public. This will considerably improve assessment of their work, and secrecy and conceit should become a thing of the past.

Bukharin Rehabilitation Applauded
PM1205100988 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 11 May 88 Morning Edition p 3

[Article by Kim Smirnov: "The Hour of Truth Is Inevitable; a Decision of the USSR Academy of Sciences Has Restored Title of Academician to N.I. Bukharin"]

[Text] IZVESTIYA 13 January 1929 published an information report from Leningrad: A, V.A. Obruchev, M.N. Pokrovskiy, D.N. Pryanishnikov, S.A. Chaplygin, and others. And they include the name N.I. Bukharin (socio-economic sciences). In the late twenties the time had not yet come when people like Vyshinskiy had begun to join the academy—for services other than scientific ones. The main qualification, the "entry fee," was outstanding research achievements. What was Bukharin's contribution to science?

He was 24 years old when "The Rentier's Political Economy" became a notable phenomenon among economic research works. But in the following 50 years it would have been futile to seek the work in our country's library catalogs. As it would other works and popularizing works and articles by Bukharin—"The World Economy and Imperialism," "Imperialism and the Accumulation of Capital," "The Economy of the Transitional Period," "The Theory of Historical Materialism," "Lenin as a Marxist," "On the Question of Trotskiyism," "On the Nature of Our Revolution and the Possibility of Victorious Socialist Building in the USSR," "The Path to Socialism and a Worker-Peasant Alliance," "An ABC of Communism," "The Communists' Program," and "Caesarism under the Mask of Revolution."

Yet the first edition of the Great Soviet Encyclopedia describes Bukharin not only as one of the leaders of the All-Union Communist Party of Bolsheviks and the Communist International and one of the leading participants in the October Revolution (in 1917 he was not yet 30 years old—how young the leaders of the greatest revolution in history were!). He is also cited as an outstanding theorist of communism, economist, and sociologist.

What a sharp contrast—as between light and impenetrable darkness—is provided by the newspaper lines of 1937 about the same man: "The restructuring of the USSR Academy of Sciences...has been delayed by the harmful activity of the enemies of the people active in the most diverse fields of science. An anti-Soviet counterrevolutionary group headed by the enemy of the people Bukharin had seized leading posts in the Academy and with the full connivance of the former Academy Presidium had influenced the entire life and direction of the work of this scientific center.... One of the main counterrevolutionary nests in the Academy was in the Institute of the History of Science and Technology, headed by Bukharin...." The 21 May 1937 general meeting of the USSR Academy of Sciences expelled N.I. Bukharin from the ranks of the academicians and from the USSR Academy of Sciences Presidium.

You cannot expunge this dark page from our Academy's glorious history as Bukharin's name was expunged from the lists of academicians and members of the USSR Academy of Sciences Presidium and, less than a year later, from the list of the living. But history does have one feature: In it the hour of truth is inevitable (it is regrettable that we sometimes have to wait decades for it).

On 10 May 1988 the USSR Academy of Sciences Presidium adopted the following decision: "In connection with the full rehabilitation through state and party channels of N.I. Bukharin—that outstanding party figure and major scholar in the field of social sciences and the clearing of his name, criminally besmirched during the I.V. Stalin personality cult, the USSR Academy of Sciences Presidium decrees:

[Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian on 12 May 1988 in its Morning Edition carries on page 6 an unattributed "Correction" which reads in full as follows:

"The text of the USSR Academy of Sciences Presidium resolution cited in the report 'The Hour of Truth is Inevitable' (No 132, 1988) contained an inaccuracy. The beginning of the fifth paragraph from the end should read: 'On 10 May 1988 the USSR Academy of Sciences Presidium adopted the following decision: "In connection with the USSR Supreme Court's rehabilitation of N.I. Bukharin..." ' (continue as in the text)."]

"1. That Nikolay Ivanovich Bukharin be posthumously reinstated as a full member of the USSR Academy of Sciences (academician).

"2. That a proposal be submitted to the USSR Academy of Sciences general meeting on the repeal of the USSR Academy of Sciences 21 May 1937 general meeting resolution and protocol No 7 which in particular touches on the expulsion of N.I. Bukharin from the ranks of full members of the USSR Academy of Sciences and the USSR Academy of Sciences Presidium."

Much has been done recently to return the name and personality of N.I. Bukharin to the people and their history. Next is the return of his theoretical legacy to science. Not everything in this legacy is alike. Bukharin also had erroneous positions which have not been confirmed by time. We recall that V.I. Lenin frequently

entered into polemics with him. And Lenin's final assessment from the "Letter to the Congress" is also not uniform: "Bukharin is not only a very valuable and major party theorist, he is also legitimately regarded as a favorite of the entire party, but his theoretical views can only with very great dubiousness be treated as entirely Marxist, because there is something pedantic about him (he never studied and I think he never fully understood dialectics)."

Nonetheless the fact that for decades Bukharin's legacy was removed from the arsenals of our social scientists has impoverished and emasculated these arsenals. Because his legacy also contains something which accords with our present thoughts and with the quest for a solution to today's economic and social problems.

Leningrad Roundtable on Restructuring

PM0605100088 [Editorial report] Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian on 3 May 1988 carries on page 2 a 5,000-word feature under the rubric "SOVETSKAYA KULTURA Roundtable in Leningrad" and the heading "The Intelligentsia and Restructuring," compiled by own correspondent V. Potemkin in Leningrad and consisting of accounts of the speeches of some of the participants at a roundtable meeting held in Leningrad in April and shown on Leningrad television on 28 April. The editorial introduction reads:

"Among editors, this has a simple and everyday name—mass work with readers. But what happened that April evening in the Leningrad Palace of Theater Artists goes beyond the bounds of everyday meetings. Our editorial office was enabled to turn an ordinary soiree into a searching, topical, meaningful discussion first and foremost by its old writers—well known figures in literature and art and party workers. And finally, by the readers themselves, representatives of Leningrad's creative intelligentsia. Without the participation of the public and the attention of listeners, the most brilliant monologue and the most impassioned speech in defense of restructuring lose their meaning and effect.

"But here, the auditorium took part in the discussion. It listened and spoke, expressed objections and agreement, approval and indignation. It was moved by what progressively minded people must be moved by today—the future of restructuring and democratization, the future of socialism.

"We were again convinced of this when we watched the full recording of the meeting on Leningrad television. Thank you, everyone who helped us to hold this discussion! Thank you, everyone who came!

"For those who could not be present in the auditorium or watch the television program, we reproduce in our newspaper the best fragments from the evening."

There follows a 600-word account of Georgiy Tovstonogov's speech, dealing mainly with glasnost in relation to the theater and concluding: "Restructuring is everyone's cause. And A. Gelman was right in his article 'Time for Mustering Forces,' published in SOVETSKAYA KULTURA: If restructuring does not go all the way, it will be the fault not of its opponents, but of its supporters." This is followed by an account of Aleksey Gelman's speech, the text of which is as follows:

"My teacher Georgiy Aleksandrovich Tovstonogov has launched a discussion about things that are of fundamental importance to the development of art. I will talk about concrete matters. Recently some American cinematographers proposed to me that we make a movie about the poet and Nobel Prize winner I. Brodskiy. I received a similar proposal from our own cinema leadership. Let me take this opportunity to recall a report from the Leningrad writers' organization long ago: 'Iosif Brodskiy is not a poet.' Signature. Stamp...

"The question has arisen: Why have artists created nothing significant in the years of restructuring? First, you can't raise Tarkovskiys as easily as that, even if you adopt the resolutions of authoritative bodies. Second, the reason is far more deep-seated than we sometimes imagine. Artists spent many years learning not to be artists and tending an art that ceased to be art. The cult of frauds sprang up. People looked indulgently on the cinematographic frauds and said: 'What a smart guy! He has written a scenario based on such-and-such an influential work, he is guaranteed a State Prize!' They envied us, you understand, envied us! We were taught to be waiters, not directors....

"Fear lives on, and hampers progress. The bans have been lifted, all forms of administrative pressure have been condemned, but we are still afraid of something. Why? Because to this day we do not know who, in past years, persecuted artists, who was sincerely mistaken, who did it consciously in pursuit of selfish goals. Nor do we really know who wrote the letter that served as a pretext for removing Tvardovskiy from his post as chief editor of NOVYY MIR. But why not print that manifesto?

"The 5 April PRAVDA editorial article explained much, and put everything in its place. But at that time, when the article 'I Cannot Waive Principles' appeared in SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA, I personally had a feeling of fright, a feeling that we were being turned back from restructuring. That publication was not a polemic at all. Polemics presupposes the existence of different viewpoints, the struggle of opinions in the name of the truth. I personally do not believe that that antirestructuring manifesto could have been written by an ordinary chemistry teacher....

"And another topic—the democratic embodiment of glasnost. Sometimes a journalist comes up to me, we talk about various things, I open the publication, and he has

only published what suited him. The general thoughts remain, the concrete points have been removed. For instance, I have told many people how P. Kulikov, a fine literature teacher, is being persecuted in School No 199, but it has never once appeared in print. High ideals cannot be defended by generalizations."

A 400-word account of Kirill Lavrov's speech calling for everyone to support restructuring includes this passage: "I was very worried, for instance, by the recent Leningrad City Soviet session. Apparently the item on culture had been prepared beforehand and discussed widely, and everything proceeded in the old way, more or less formally, among all the other questions. The whole session could have been devoted to problems of culture." Lavrov's contribution is followed by Mikhail Shatrov's speech, the account of which reads as follows:

"You are walking along the street and you see the dirty gray asphalt, and little green shoots forcing their way through it. What is this greenery? Could it perhaps be a mighty tree forcing its way through?... Metaphorically speaking, the revolutionary changes which began recently depend on whether we succeed in clearing away the asphalt that hampers the growth of living things. Indeed, everything depends on man, the enormous potential of restructuring is invested in him. The main battlefield is man. A great many men—the collective. The collective lives in the same way as the individual: It struggles for restructuring, observes it, or resists it.

"Three or four times a week I speak at plants and workers' collectives and address young people. There are far fewer disputes about how to go forward into the future than about the past. Often politics is seen independently of morality—that is a legacy of Stalinism. Today we should try to find out: When did that division begin? Why did it happen? Who is to blame? And what should we do to ensure that politics and morality are never again divided?

"There is an opinion that politics and morality began to move apart in the thirties, when Stalin was surrounded by Molotov, Voroshilov, and other state leaders. That is not so. It was much earlier—when he was surrounded by Zinovyev, Kamenev, Trotskiy.... Here is an instructive fact. Lenin wrote the article 'How We Should Reorganize the Workers' and Peasants' Inspection' for PRAVDA, and they did not want to print it. The Politburo adopted Kuybyshev's proposal to make a single copy of the newspaper for Lenin personally, to reassure the sick man. Thank heavens, reason then prevailed and the article came out in the full edition of PRAVDA. They were concerned about Lenin, they tried not to worry him any more than necessary. Stalin, taking advantage of this concern, tried to keep the leader out of the resolution of many matters that were of fundamental importance to the future of the party and state. And when Lenin's utterances broke free, crossing the hospital bounds, they lamented: 'It is not the leader speaking. It is the leader's illness speaking.' A circular was sent around all the party organizations explaining that the sick Lenin did not understand the situation, so no significance should be attached to his words. The circular was signed by Stalin, Zinovyev, Kamenev, Trotskiy, Bukharin, Dzerzhinskiy, and other leaders....

"While asserting historical truth, we are still afraid of the word 'degeneration.' Did not the Cheka [Extraordianry Commission] and GPU [Main Political Administration] organs degenerate in the thirties, having originally been created to protect the gains of the October Revolution? Yes, they degenerated! And the terrible operation to destroy Lenin's party began. You must not think that only the party leaders and intelligentsia were destroyed, no, that is not true; broad strata of the people were destroyed. The truth cannot blacken our country's history, only lies can belittle it. Many people do not understand that apparently simple fact, and as soon as we start saying truthful things about the past, calling everything by its name, we hear them say: You are not using Marxist methodology!

"What kind of methodology is sometimes proposed? A normal person will speak into a microphone, so that hundreds, thousands, or millions of people will hear him. But a man who has mastered a certain methodology will think: 'Ah, but what will Nikolay Nikolayevich say? And what if someone else takes his post in a month or two? And above Nikolay Nikolayevich, there's Petr Vasilyevich....' And he will not use the microphone. Let those who are above him, those who lead, those who command, do the talking. Did we not see the history of the Great Patriotic War being accomplished solely thanks to the valor of the Generalissimo? Yes, we did! Did we not read the history of the Great Patriotic War in which all the victories were accomplished thanks to a member of the Military Council of the Ukrainian Front? Yes, we did! Were we not shown the history of that same great war exclusively in terms of the victories in Malaya Zemlya? Yes, we read that, too! And it is a good thing that this whole state of confusion came to an end in 1985.

"We must teach the people to understand what the result of the activity of this or that politician was. The result of Peter I's rule is no problem for us. There is no problem with the results of the rule of Ivan the Terrible, Alexander I, Nicholas II.... But if we examine the historical services of leaders of our own state in the same way, a problem arises. The responsibility of party and state leaders is millions of times greater than the responsibility of the ordinary man. And it is noteworthy that SOVETSKAYA KULTURA published A. Gelman's article 'Time for Mustering Forces,' which says that every politician's activity should be beyond reproach and should take place before the vigilant gaze of the entire people. So that what happened with Rashidov never happens again in our history: first secretary of a republican Communist Party Central Committee, noteworthy writer, winner of prizes, and then, it turns out, a mafia boss, no less...

"The mass media today face the very important task of propagandizing the bank of ideas for the forthcoming 19th party conference. I submit this proposal: Leaders should serve no more than two terms in party work. People with the capacity to persuade, not to command, should be brought into party work. Guarantees of the renewal of party and state leadership at all levels are necessary. This will be a real step toward overcoming the vestigial Stalinist phenomena in our country.

"I have been asked: Why do we speak so vaguely of the 'period of stagnation'—the years when Khrushchev and Brezhnev were at the country's helm? Why are there no explicit articles in the press on this subject? I think our party leadership's position has been clearly expressed in the speeches of Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, who sees the source of this phenomenon in the bureaucratic condition of party and state power. But all-around, in-depth thoughts are needed from scholars and current affairs writers about the causes of the bureaucratic system and its consequences.

"A. Gelman has already spoken of the responsibility of the mass media to authors. I had an unfortunate experience with Leningrad television, when despite my protests a program went on the air in which, after my own thoughts, social scientists delivered a cutting and—more to the point—vulgar critique of the play 'Onward...Onward...Onward!' I had not seen the recordings of their discussion and could not reply. Understand me, I am not against criticism, but I have the right to an opportunity to reply to that criticism. I would like to reply to my opponents in a live program."

The account of Galina Barinova's speech reads as follows:

"I agree with Mikhail Filippovich's criticism of Leningrad television. A live program is doubtless necessary. Of course, we are all concerned about the publication of that article in SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA [by Nina Andreyeva]. The Leningrad CPSU Obkom, where I am chief of the Propaganda and Agitation Department, had nothing to do with its appearance. The article came as a surprise to us. On 26 March, at a scientific and theoretical conference that preceded the recent party obkom plenum on ideological questions, there was a critical discussion of the article. It was described as ignorant and unhistorical, an antirestructuring manifesto. That, I emphasize, was before the PRAVDA editorial article. A principle fact of the book's publication was discussed by the party obkom bureau, the leaders of the publishing house were punished, and the chief editor has left his post. Representatives of several foreign publishing houses approached 'Lenizdat' proposing to translate this book, but they were turned down.

"I would also like to respond to K.Yu. Lavrov's critical remarks about the Leningrad Gorispolkom session. Of course there were shortcomings in its preparation and holding, nobody denies that. But there was also much that was new, that was tried for the first time. For instance, the work of the sections, which examined various aspects of the activity of cultural institutions at their sessions. The standing commission on culture of Leningrad Gorispolkom, of which I am a member, met four times during the period of preparations for the session, and we met with personalities in literature and art. Perhaps Kirill Yuryevich does not know about all that, because he is often out of town. The point is, of course, not so much how the session went, as what the results will be, what we will be able to resolve and what we will not succeed in. We have already, for instance, managed to resolve the question of the founding of the journal ISKUSSTVO LENINGRADA [ART IN LENINGRAD], which we have been fighting for over many years. A decision has now been taken to hand over the Smolnyy Cathedral for a concert hall, which the Leningraders so badly need. The party obkom bureau discussed the question of the modernization and restoration of the historic center of Leningrad; SOVETSKAYA KULTURA wrote about it too. This question was resolved democratically; those invited to the session included Academician D. Likhachev, chairman of the Soviet Culture Foundation, Academician B. Piotrovskiy, chairman of the Leningrad department of the All-Union Society for the Preservation of Historical and Cultural Monuments, and the sculptor M. Anikushin, chief of the Leningrad department of the Culture Foundation and chairman of the Leningrad organization of the Artists' Union. We are tackling the problem of capital repairs to a number of theater buildings, libraries, and museums. We want to open new museums, return to the traditions of the past, and found a museum of the defense of Leningrad. Here too public discussions are helping.

"We are still only learning to argue, to discuss in a well argued way, with proof and conviction. If each of us today finds his heart beating faster in concern for the future of restructuring, that means we have achieved something—the ability to understand each other, define our common positions, and look to tomorrow."

The feature concludes with brief accounts—of 200, 250, and 150 words respectively—of the remarks by Viktor Konetskiy, Yuriy Andreyev, and Gleb Gorbovskiy.

Chingiz Aytmatov Lambasts Stalin Cult

PM1005111588 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 4 May 88 Morning Edition p3

[Article by Chingiz Aytmatov: "Are the Foundations Being Undermined?..."]

[Text] I.

In itself the fact reveals a great deal, but from the standpoint of the public wellbeing of that time it was even very regrettable, if not shameful — many years after the 20th congress, that courageous break through the blockade of the personality cult which was then imperceptibly moved to the edge of political oblivion or,

to be more precise, silently annulled, we, living constantly in an atmosphere of complacency and inexhaustible smugness intended to demonstrate pseudo-stability in the country, made no attempt to think about this. In any case no one pondered aloud as to whether the cult spirit which had caused the country's socioeconomic life to become grossly deformed, with all the attendant negative phenomena, was compes of that era were in no way compatible with real democracy of full value—with human rights and human dignity, with social justice in everything concerning collectives and citizens, peoples and nations, with the observance of socialist legality, and with the elementary concepts of human freedom and happiness.

The fact that the history of Soviet society has nevertheless taken the path of restructuring and glasnost simply confirms the initial potential of its first stages: Restructuring and glasnost are the regeneration of Lenin's revolution and the renewal of its great motive forces. By virtue of this, restructuring and Stalinism have proved incompatible, like fire and water.

However, from the very first days of restructuring and glasnost people have been voicing concern—first as vague hints and later with ever increasing clarity—that frank discussion poses the danger—no more, no less—of undermining the foundations of socialism and causing the loss of principles and the achievements of the age.... Everyone has the right to his own opinion, of course. There is therefore all the more need to speak frankly on this score.

I will begin by going back a long way, to the things that I have learned on my journey through life and that are dear to me. I once had a conversation with my people back home (I visited my village to attend the funeral of the last of my father's sisters). Over a cup of tea at the funeral meal the conversation, as usual, got onto all kinds of different subjects—tsars and sages, even Stalin. Then one of the old men told an interesting tale, an anecdote that was clearly didactic in nature. The story goes that Stalin assembled his closest comrades and said to them: "You must all rack your brains to think how to govern the people so that everyone under the sun, everyone to a man, looks at me and blinks when I blink, opens his eyes when I open my eyes, so that I am like a living god to everyone, for it has long been said that the tsar is not God but not less than God. Now I will show you how to treat the people." And he ordered a chicken to be brought to him. He plucked that chicken alive, in front of everyone, plucked it right down to the last little feather, to the red meat, as they say, so that only the comb remained on the head of the crested bird. "Now watch," he said and released the bare chicken. It would have liked to run away, no matter where, but it had nowhere to go—it was unbearably hot in the sun and too cold in the shade. So the poor thing pressed close to Stalin's boots. Then the master threw it a grain of corn and it followed him wherever he went—clearly it could not do otherwise as it would die of starvation. "That is how the people must be governed," he said, for their edification.

I remember there was a pause. It was only an old man's embellishment, nothing more, but everyone present sincerely delighted in this tall story, tutting and clicking their tongues and evidently drawing some amazing analogies for themselves—such goings-on in the world.... And what insight Stalin had! Only a truly great man could have thought of such a thing, you cannot deny, and he got what he wanted with the chicken....

One person in the circle said something, however, that started the conversation up again, and this time it was far from anecdotal. "All this is true, even if it is only a story," he said, shaking his head. "That is why they started dispossessing us, your fathers, so that the people would be like that chicken. What other reason was there to break our wings? Soviet power gave us the land, gave us our freedom, but as soon as we protected and tended the fields, cultivated the harvest, acquired draught animals, and saw our livestock produce young, we were punished for our labors and for working by the sweat of our brow from morning till night. We seemed to have become our own enemies—we were robbed, completely ruined, as if we were an alien race, imprisoned, exiled to Siberia, and countless numbers shot. And the first to suffer were those who were the strongest farmers. Anyone who had a grudge against anyone at the time or coveted someone else's wealth simply whispered in the right person's ear. A bit of a stir would ensue (a joke): One moment a person would be a man of property, the next he would be without his horse, his fur coat, a roof over his head, his land, and water for his fields. His children would get out as soon as possible—they did not care where, as long as they were out of it. The people left were registered with a kolkhoz, worked off their feet, and payday was like carrying water home in a sieve. Some two years passed and those who had called us kulaks were then themselves driven into the same camps as the kulaks. And so, dear friends, if you look to the source, you see that his efforts were not so much for the people as to be able to grip them all by the throat at once and knock them all down together, even if they clung to the top of his boot in fear and tried to push each other away from the master...."

One word led to another and suddenly an argument flared up. So many bitter memories suddenly burst to the surface: Who imprisoned who in those years, who informed on who but benefited not an ounce, who appropriated whose horse, household goods, carpet, samovar. So much property and livestock was lost to no purpose, as a result of which famine broke out (this I can remember myself—I was a witness to 1932). And from Kazakhstan, which was in the grip of mass destruction, pestilence, and drought, there came an endless tide of persecuted people who had lost their land and tried to sell their little boys and girls for a crust of bread: They

were destined nevertheless to perish in those dark times—whole cemeteries can still be found at the roadsides. All this suddenly came flooding back, stirred up by a chance word. And Stalin figured in all these tragedies, as if he were the chief rabble-rouser in the village rather than the leader of the greatest revolutionary party which had proclaimed the happiness of the working people as its aim.

All this ended when an old frontline fighter destined to walk on crutches for the rest of his life could stand it no longer, roared out against these words, and, with tears in his eyes, threatened to kill everyone with his crutches if they could not refrain from denigrating a great man in whose name he had gone into the attack.... "And where were you before, before Khrushchev? Now you are all wagging your tongues." He too was right in his criticism.

What is the point of my telling you all this, however? The point is that we are dealing with a question of history which has been hushed up and, what is more, distorted, justified, and presented as a pure triumph canopied by the name of a miracle-worker, although in reality this was far from being the case.

Common talk, they say, is no document, but although this conversation took place among peasants rather than at a parliamentary session, this albeit artless, naive notion of the Stalinist incursion into peasant life threw far greater light on the truth than any pseudo-scientific research expecting a life annuity for confirming the unconfirmable (and that life annuity has been and still is forthcoming!). Does the parable of the chicken not contain one of the people's greatest tragedies, one of the most catastrophic conflicts it has ever had to endure, whose pernicious consequences are still making themselves felt today?...

Let us try to remember who destroyed the most able, zealous managers in this vital, bread-winning segment of the population to such an extent and when. What was the point of turning kolkhozes—peasant artels—into bureaucratic monopolies underpinned by forced labor like something from the Middle Ages (I say this because my brother and I have been in this situation—we worked on the "Dzhiyde" Kolkhoz which is now in Manasskiy Rayon, earning our living by working in the fields; a refusal to go out into the fields was punished by disciplinary measures)? The consequences of this are well known: The alienation of the agricultural worker from the land, loss of a sense of involvement in socialized ownership, loss of personal interest in production results, steady depopulation of the countryside, particularly in the central oblasts of the RSFSR, and an ever increasing imbalance between the categories of people directly engaged in producing material wealth and those employed in the control and administrative apparatus which burgeons with every year. The old mocking gibe that was once very useful by virtue of its social thrust—about one man with a small wooden plow and seven men with spoons [consuming the fruits of his labor]—has begun to seem a harmless anachronism. Since Stalin's time there has been a considerable increase in the number of people with spoons and the number of people keeping watch over the peasantry and telling it what to do.

But it could be worse. The absurd Stalinist obsession of having a wealthy state but a poor population, which has never been achieved and never will be, held sway right up until the restructuring period, even in the minds of leading figures such as Nikita Sergeyevich Khrushchev, who could not resist the temptation of this idea. It is now quite incomprehensible why central and local authorities had to expend so much effort on preventing peasant households from acquiring one sheep or calf too many under any circumstances—this, do you see, would be a violation of socialist principles (but not socialist principles, rather the Stalinist interpretation of these principles, as it has since become clear). Confiscating everything kolkhoz workers grew on their personal plots, even if only slightly over the limits set from above, in the guise of issuing contracts for a miserable price, cutting the size of orchards and kitchen gardens, and reducing them to the most meager plots while, on the other hand, backyards and gardens were going to waste and being taken over by weeds, objectively meant the death of the countryside, however much you may try to take the edge off the issue. It is no accident that China followed the same fatal path and, again, the victims of the experiment amounted to millions of human lives lost. Thankfully thre particularly lamented the failed communes. I think that even the followers of Pol Pot, who perpetrated the unprecedented genocide of their own people, had a quite transparent example in this respect. (It is worth recalling the history of Stalin's destructive resettlement of the Chechen, Ingush, Kalmyk, and Karachayev peoples, Caucasian Turks, Crimean Tatars, Kurds, and others at the end of the war. The mark left by these misfortunes and sufferings can still be felt today—nearly 50 years on).

All these fatal events engendered by Stalinism and its oriental variations are based on an enormous deformation of socialist aims, when it is not ideas that serve the people but the people who are turned into a means of utilizing this idea, like wood for a fire. In what dark and distant time was this immoral precedent first set—to use any means to attain an end? Throughout the ages mankind has suffered and still suffers from this evil. Thanks to Stalin, even socialism, unfortunately, has not avoided this fate....

But let us return to the kolkhozes. If they have managed to exist, nevertheless, as socialist agrarian units, this has happened in spite of Stalin's tyranny, because people finding themselves even in such unwarrantedly harsh conditions try to survive, adapt, and continue their line, which can only be achieved through work. It is true that even at such a price, despite their titanic efforts and struggle, the kolkhozes have been unable nevertheless to become models of progressive agriculture. The labor

productivity, yields, and livestock productivity of our kolkhozes and sovkhozes bear no comparison to the indicators secured by highly developed countries. Is this not the reason why somehow, despite the fact that it has the largest land and water resources in the world, our country is unable to provide itself with grain and has to go to the other end of the world to buy it, mainly from the United States and Canada? It is hard to say how we would manage to make ends meet at all if we had no gas, oil, gold, and timber to sell, although this, in turn, is evidence of the extensive, wasteful, antiquated state of Soviet exports.

Stalin's tyranny has had such a profound, long-term effect on kolkhoz and sovkhoz potential and the agricultural worker has been so hopelessly stripped of his initiative and independence and crushed as a spontaneous individual that this has become problem number one for us, for our country. Many of us will not miss any good opportunity to proudly remind ourselves and others that we are the country of space discoveries. This is true. But what are the problems of space in comparison to the problems of daily bread? An inscrutable paradox! Incidentally, space, the whole of industry, and the whole of science are a historical weight borne on the shoulders of the agricultural worker. And what does he get in return? What do we give him—what is our scientific, intellectual, technical response? Are we promoting democratic, social improvements in the countryside? Are we not selfish and hypocritical in this respect? So many spectacular words have been said about "flourishing" kolkhoz power, but rural areas are still long-suffering and largely poor, as they have always been. This, despite the fact that they are the root foundation of our society. Without raising the countryside, which was crushed and broken under Stalin and his followers, to a realistic, really accurate economic peak or, to put it more simply, to a peak of sober calculation, we will not be able to resolve anything else—the entire interconnected complex of present-day economic tasks. Opening up new, clear, just economic prospects for kolkhozes and sovkhozes by means restructuring will mean saving the country's agriculture and freeing the countryside of the Stalinist legacy.

Surely, to achieve this aim, it is worthwhile to honestly interpret the past and the present from the standpoint of glasnost? Tearing free of the chains of the past certainly does not mean undermining socialism or "abandoning principles" and so forth, as people still held by the "fascination" of the Stalinist cult try to make out. Surely, by now trying to justify evil actions against the peasantry, the intelligentsia, party and military cadres, and everything in society that suffered irreparable damage in the thirties, forties, and fifties, we will be riding the same old horse of infamous demagoguery, as in a circus ring, claiming that the cause of all this was the exacerbation of the class struggle under socialism and, moreover, urging on this horse with the artful whip of present-day cynicism?

The cynical saying comes to mind again and again: You can't make an omelet without breaking eggs. That was fine if fate smiled on you and you were neither the omelet nor the eggs—by chance you avoided the fate of having to face the firing squad alongside thousands upon thousands of the too-ardent enthusiasts who had risen at the dawn of the revolution to build a new society and, because of their zeal and honesty, had not suited the imperial aspirations of the power-hungry leader. Fine if you did not end up in Stalin's camps, on islands and in the tundra behind barbed wire fences, did not walk around covered in ulcers and abcesses with frozen hands and feet, did not die of scurvy, did not lose your sanity, and did not end it all by committing suicide, having found yourself among the hundreds of thousands of former frontline fighters in Soviet camps after being a prisoner of war in the enemy concentration camps; Stalin's inhuman cruelty and defiant scorn for human life doomed frontline fighters to death and penal servitude because fate had been so cruel: Surely he must have known that there cannot be war without dead, wounded, and prisoners? Who could foresee what destiny had in store for them?...

Only by arrogantly disregarding all this and forgetting that every one of us at that time (young people can mentally put themselves in our place) could quite easily have become a victim of the Stalinist terror can we try to justify him.

II.

Devotees of Stalin believe they have several irrefutable historical arguments. One of them is connected with the country's industrialization in the thirties. They refer to the Dneproges and Magnitogorsk Metallurgical Combine as examples of "his era." But an era is, nevertheless, the work of the people as a whole, in their entirety, responding to the economic requirements of the time. I am more than sure that even without Stalin, projects such as the Dneproges and Magnitogorsk Metallurgical Combine would have appeared anyway —they are a historical necessity of development. Some countries progress in leaps and bounds in this respect, responding promptly to the call of the time, while others try to catch up—and they often change places. Even without Stalin Russia would not have remained at the 1913 level—it would have gone all out to industrialize nevertheless. It is another matter that the October Revolution opened up new prospects and the people used the opportunities offered them. But have they made full use of these opportunities?

It seems to me that industrial growth, as any other, should not only and not so much be gauged by the simplest of systems—what was and what is, what was lacking and what has been gained and built, how badly people lived and how much better they live now—but by a more meaningful historical criterion: What does an achievement signify when compared to a progressive achievement of the same order in other places and other

countries? Portraying the situation as if the Dneproges and Magnitogorsk Metallurgical Combine built under Stalin were amazing events, while failing to mention that similar and even more powerful installations were built at the same time in other countries, because no one was sitting idle, is tantamount to exaggerating the importance of our achievement by giving this one-sided picture and understating our potential—what could have been but was never realized. This also applies to agriculture, incidentally.

Of course, in comparison to the old agrarian Russia as it was before the revolution, kolkhozes and sovkhozes are a step forward in economic development. Who is arguing? But if you compare the kolkhoz and sovkhoz level from the standpoint of the present day with the level attained in the same areas and over the same period of time (labor productivity, harvest yield, and agrarian technology) in other highly developed states, everything falls into place....

What I mean is this: To ascribe all the achievements of this period to Stalin and to claim that without him these achievements would never have been accomplished is tantamount to making a fetish of his name and his role. And, as you well know, a fetish is superstition....

People say that Stalin won the war. As if he were playing a game of chess. Again the same kind of fetish. Yes, the supreme commander in chief is the person at the top. Naturally, his role in and contribution to the war must be considerable; he is obliged by virtue of his position to make skilled judgements in strategy and tactics and other questions of warfare. This is the order of things. But who can prove that the country would have lost the war if the supreme commander in chief had not been Stalin but a different military commander? Criticism of Stalin is not a derogation or negation of the victory as such; victory is something universal, concerning all the people, and is not simply an unremitting vigil by one person alone, however brilliant he may be. Finally, the fact that the war was won does not constitute a pardon from social and political criticism. We have to live, develop, and improve when the war is done. Celebrating victory is good, the cup of glory is a pleasant thing, but building life afterward on civilized principles and improving the well-being of the people is even more important. People are right if they think that when talking about the war we must primarily emphasize the colossal spirit of patriotism in the Soviet people, which roused the whole country, young and old, and overcame the enemy at the cost of incredible sacrifice and privation that the mind cannot comprehend and which, incidentally, could have been far less if Stalin had indeed been a commander unsurpassed in any age or time. I would also like to mention something else—something which is not spoken of with any great enthusiasm in our country—again, I believe, because people are looking over their shoulders at Stalin. The allied aid given by the United States and Britain in World War II must be shown due credit. American pilots provided us with 14,795 fighter aircraft on lend-lease alone, to say nothing of other equipment and provisions. This was very timely aid from the American people and should not be forgotten.

To ascribe our victory to one man alone, as if he were a god, and to make him into a majestic, infallible figure, as Stalin is portrayed in some films, is hardly just, reasonable, or instructive. Making a myth of a personality in his lifetime and verging on religious worship (and this was indeed the case under Stalin) is evidence of sickness in this personality and a cultural deficiency in society. Now, however, we want to shake off this ill, this "patriarchal subservience to rank." The forces of glasnost must focus on precisely this.

Sometimes we have to think, to compare how rapidly and strongly the FRG and Japan, which were reduced to ashes, utterly destroyed, dismantled down to the last screw, and so capitulated, and also Finland, which did not come out of the war particularly well, developed in their postwar economic restoration and how rapidly and securely they attained the topmost heights in terms of their living standard and industrial development. But the country which had emerged the victor, and proclaimed its unprecedented prosperity under Stalin's leadership even in the ents and reasons are found to explain and justify this strange phenomenon, ranging from the political to the climatic (although the climate in Finland is no better), but a fact remains a fact. I believe that Stalin's stygian isolationism and tendency toward hostility to and alienation from the outside world were not least to blame for this retrogression. To live with one's neighbors in enmity and threats is not a very clever thing to do; far more intelligence and flexibility are required to understand the interaction between different world structures with the aim of deriving mutual benefit.

In their search for parameters of greatness for Stalin, some people try to compare him to Peter I. The similarity between them must surely be that both were autocrats (Peter through inheritance and Stalin in practice), while the difference between them was that Peter opened a window on Europe for boyar Russia while Stalin closed this same Europe to us—the Europe liberated from fascism by Soviet soldiers.

For a long time to come the sinister echo of his violence against the people will continue to reverberate in the hearts and souls of Soviet people. The most terrible thing in "his era" was the double arithmetic, whereby we passed off antidemocracy as the highest Stalinist democracy in front of the entire honest world. This kind of self-deception is always fraught with tragic consequences.

Democracy is the art of the masses and is intended to guarantee freedom of thought and self-expression for every member of society, without sliding, of course, toward ochlocracy, that is, riotous cries from the mob in the street. It is no accident that when we encountered the need to develop democracy in its true forms, differences

of opinion lay in wait for us. On the question of Stalin, in particular. Everyone is free to have his own viewpoint, of course. If, through ignorance, a person identifies socialism with Stalinism, that is his misfortune, but if he deliberately substitutes one concept for another he will always find opponents who are in fundamental disagreement with him. We have paid too great a price to reach this truth.

And the last point. Stalin died a long time ago. But it is only now, 35 years after his death, that, at last overcoming the idol worship syndrome, we have begun to tell the whole truth about him in the press and at meetings, for all to hear, and—a characteristic feature—without the former feeble equivocation and without "knees shaking." It is terrible to imagine just how profoundly our society has been paralyzed by Stalinist repression and Stalin's authoritarian regime!

Spiritual slavery can be both voluntary and also even much-wanted, pleasurable, and fervent as a result of the servile-patriarchal cult surrounding one man, implanted by totalitarian means. When people have been oppressed for long years and are in no condition to withstand tyranny and cruelty which go beyond official bounds, they are ready to deify this evil, thereby finding some inner compensation for their own impotence and an illusion of merging with this superbeing, worshipping whom becomes the norm for them. Consequently it is sometimes hard to persuade them to change their way of thinking and, what is more, blame them for being apologists of Stalinism. We must show patience toward them, as patience is shown toward any religious weakness.

A full-value culture of the free thinking individual can only develop through democracy and glasnost.

The older generations are gradually departing the stage of active life. It is now up to young people. The extremely complex modern world has turned its face toward humanism as the supreme meaning on earth, investing it with the whole of mankind's historical experience. There is no other way. I am deeply convinced that only a mind free of the Stalinist way of thinking can understand and improve the new world.

Economic

Readers' Questions on Pipeline Deal Addressed

PM1205085588 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 6 May 88 p 3

[Reader's letter followed by reply by "Soyuzgazeksport" specialist I.S. Bagramyan: "Is the 'Gas for Pipes' Deal Advantageous"—first two paragraphs are SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA introduction]

[Text] The restructuring of the system of economic ties and the policy of glasnost which is extending to spheres that were formerly considered "inaccessible" are forcing our readers to ask pointed questions concerning contracts concluded with foreign countries in the past.

One such pointed question concerns the "contract of the century"—the laying of the "Siberia-West Europe" pipeline. The letter from Engineer Ye. Gutnikov from Bryansk, which we publish below, is an indicator of the legitimate anxiety and concern felt by Soviet people in connection with what many perceive as the squandering of our natural resources. We asked I.S. Bagramyan, a competent specialist from "Soyuzgazeksport," to reply to this letter.

Explanation, Please [subhead]

Dear Editorial Office! Is it possible to obtain a truthful and direct answer from an honest specialist to a very perturbing question?

It is well known that the pipes supplied to us by Western companies to lay the pipelines along which our oil and natural gas flow westward will have to be paid for by our country by deliveries of these products over a 20-year period. The pipes' serviceable life is only 10 years, and will then have to be replaced by new ones. This means that, to complete payment for the first delivery of pipes over the remaining 10 years, we will have to receive another shipment of pipes. This second shipment will have to be paid for by free deliveries of gas over a further 20 years, making it a total of 40 years, and so on, sinking deeper and deeper into constantly mounting debt. But how is this to be achieved if the second shipment of pipes will totally exhaust all our Siberian gas by the end of the first 20-year period? Does this mean we will supply gas to pay for past deliveries, that we will supply the West with free gas forever?

Since it is well known that gas reserves are very limited—there is hardly enough gas to pay for the first shipment of pipes—does this mean that, having supplied all our gas, we will have to make additional payments in foreign currency? This is terrible—we are intensively exhausting our reserves, wasting vast financial, material, and labor resources, and despite all this we will find ourselves in financial bondage to the West for decades to come.

But if this outrage was needed by somebody for his personal enrichment at the state's expense in the past, why not put an end to it now, under restructuring?! Is there anything that would at least explain it, if not justify it? If there is the slightest answer to this painful question of our time, I urge you to offer an explanation, but, begging your pardon, make it simple, clear, and intelligible. After all, explanations were offered in the past but their authors, using verbal trickery, successfully managed to ensure that nothing was explained. I would be very grateful to you. You do realize, of course, I am not the only one who needs this.

Reply by "Soyuzgazeksport" [subhead]

Let us first of all remind people that the Soviet Union occupies a leading position in the world in terms of both reserves and extraction of natural gas (727 billion cubic

meters in 1987). Therefore, it is hardly correct to speak of our "limited" reserves of natural gas. Gas reserves in West Siberia alone are sufficient for decades, and maybe even for more than 100 years.

The export of natural gas from the USSR now accounts for approximately 11 percent of the quantity extracted. Such a percentage of exports could hardly be described as "squandering" of our natural resources.

For your information, deliveries of Soviet natural gas (represented by those same 11 percent of extracted quantity) are effected to all European CEMA countries, the SFRY, and Finland, the FRG, Austria, France, and Italy. Gas will be exported to Switzerland beginning in 1988. Talks on sales of Soviet gas to Sweden are being held.

Naturally, the peculiar nature ipso facto of natural gas sales required that Soviet foreign trade organizations seek new forms of cooperation with firms and banks in West European countries. The agreements on gas deliveries which were signed with the FRG, France, Italy, and Austria provided for the importation of machines, equipment, pipes, and various materials for the USSR gas industry from these countries on long-term credit terms. The total value of Soviet purchases of equipment and materials amounted to several billion dollars. This is the equipment for which we are paying with our natural gas.

Did we miscalculate, as the author of the letter to the editorial office believes? No. An analysis of all operations shows that they are economically advantageous both for us and for our partners.

The Soviet foreign economic program envisages mutually advantageous cooperation with developed capitalist countries in the sphere of opening up energy resources. The involvement of Western capital, pipes, and technology made it possible to release a significant proportion of domestic financial and technical means and thus accelerate the development of our own gas industry.

The conclusions which the author of the letter to the editorial office draws are incorrect. The pipes do not become useless after 10 years. While the term of the "Gas for Pipes" contracts is set at 25 years, the serviceable life of the pipeline is set at 50 years. Once gas deliveries in payment for credits have been completed, the USSR will acquire a major long-term source of foreign currency revenue.

Just a few words about export prices for natural gas. In the context of the specific characteristics of this energy source, its prices are determined on the basis of world prices for alternative types of fuel like oil, gas oil, fuel oil, and even coal in some cases—taking into account the thermal rating of combustion of gas compared with these energy sources and the efficiency of its utilization. Whenever prices for these sources change on the world market, gas prices also change. Depending on contract conditions, such price changes take effect monthly.

This is why all deliberations about "give-away prices" charged for natural gas exported from the USSR to the West are groundless.

Agricultural

April Crop Development Data Reviewed

PM1105143788 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 7 May 88 p 2

[Agrometeorologist O. Pisarenko report: "Weather and Crops"]

[Text] The temperature rose on the USSR's European territory during the last days of April and the beginning of May. The maximum air temperature rose to 20-24°. By this time the boundary of resumed growth of winter grain crops and grasses followed roughly a line linking Leningrad, Vologda, and Kirov. The stem formation stage was to be observed on winter crops in Moldavia, the Ukraine, the North Caucasus, the Central Chernozem Zone, and the Lower Volga Region, while in the south the lower node of the culm had appeared. Winter wheat at the stem formation stage was 10-20 cm high, and 20-30 cm high at the culm lower node emergence stage. Its development there is still 7-12 days in advance of the perennial average. Grasses were continuing to grow. They grew 4-6 cm during the 10-day period. In the Northern, Northwestern, and Baltic Regions and in the north of the Volga-Vyatka and Central Regions plants started growing again only at the beginning of May.

Shoots of early spring grain crops appeared in the Ukraine, Moldavia, and in the southern parts of Belorussia and the Central Chernozem Region. Formation of the third leaf has been observed in the Southeast Ukraine and the North Caucasus, with tillering in places in the extreme south of the Ukraine and of the North Caucasus. Cherry, sweet cherry, and plum trees are flowering in Moldavia, the Ukraine, and the North Caucasus, while apple trees have begun to flower in the southern part of the Ukraine and of the North Caucasus.

The weather remained very warm in the farming regions of Siberia and in northern oblasts of Kazakhstan. The average air temperature was 2-6° above the perennial average. This contributed to the intensive growth of winter grain crops and grasses.

In the Central Asian republics and southern oblasts of Kazakhstan the weather remained hot for most of the 10-day period. The maximum air temperature rose to 27-37°. There was a drop in temperature at the end of the 10-day period, and rain fell almost everywhere. There was little precipitation only in the southern half of Kirghizia and in the Gorno-Badakhshan Autonomous Oblast. The heavy rain caused a soil crust to form, which

created unfavorable conditions for the emergence of cotton shoots. However, the rain created very wet conditions in the upper layers of soil. There was stem growth on winter wheat and barley over the greater part of the Central Asian republics and southern Kazakhstan.

Apple trees are in flower almost everywhere in the southern part of the country, and the flowering of cherry and plum trees is coming to an end. Young fruits are forming on apricot and peach trees. Vines began flowering at the end of April.

Media Report 5-10 May Agricultural Developments

LD1205001588 [Editorial Report] The following is a compilation of reports on agricultural developments in the USSR carried by Moscow Domestic Service in Russian, unless otherwise indicated, on 5-10 May. GMT times of broadcasts are given in parentheses at the end of each item.

5 May

No fileworthy items monitored.

6 May

Spring wheat sowing in areas beyond the Urals, Siberia, and northern Kazakhstan is about to begin, with farmers aiming to cover almost 40 million hectares in 10-15 days. In Omsk Oblast, work is further ahead than usual since plowing began early. Moisture retention is a priority concern. The introduction of financial autonomy has encouraged initiative and experimentation, such as sowing small areas to grain crops extra early. The results will be seen and reported in the autumn. In Belorussia, potato planting is nearly complete in Brest, Gomel, and Gorodnichi Oblasts. This work has been carried out already on half the area planted for the republic as a whole. In Uzbekistan, this year's first cut of grass for hay, has begun in Sukhan Darya. An average of 50 quintals or dry hay is being procured for fodder, a promising result given that there are still a minimum of five cuts to come. Less cotton has been sown this year, so alfalfa has been sown on almost 100,000 hectares. Raising the fodder yield is the main task here. (1500)

7 May

The sowing of cereals, beans and corn is under way in Kurgan Oblast. Mass sowing of wheat will begin in the oblast in a few days, and will occupy over 1,000,000 hectares. (0204)

By this morning, corn had been sown to half of the planned acreage in Belgorod Oblast. (0600)

Specialized farms in the Crimea completed rice sowing today. Ecological recommendations have been observed in sowing all 19,000 hectares of this crop. Each paddy field has been flooded according to an individual program. (1300)

Buckwheat sowing has begun in Kursk Oblast, profitably, since farms can now sell part of the harvest. (1300)

Mass potato planting is under way in the Chuvash ASSR. (1300)

8 May

Sowing of early spring grain crops and pulse-cereal mixtures has been completed on sovkhozes and kolkhozes in Tambov Oblast. Seeds have been planted on more than 600,000 hectares. For the first time, mineral fertilizers were applied at the same time as sowing. (0204)

Potato planting has begun in the Mary non-Chernozem Zone; the crop is to occupy almost 30,000 hecatres in the autonomous republic. (0204)

In Omsk Oblast, moisture has been retained over vast areas. Harrowing has taken place over some 4,000,000 hectares. This work has been virtually completed in the steppe and woodland-steppe zones. Only small areas in the north still have to be worked on. Large-scale sowing will soon begin in the Omsk Oblast Irtysh region. (0600)

In Kazakh SSR, sowing of corn for grain has been completed in the south of the republic; 30,000 hectare have been allocated for this crop, or 1 and 1/2 times more than last year. (1430)

9 May

No fileworthy items monitored.

10 May

Today all rayons of Uzbekistan, except the most northerly, are starting their first harvesting of alfalfa. (0600)

Harvesting interim crops is over in the Sukhan-Darya Oblast of Uzbekistan, where rape, perko, oats, and rye were sown last autumn. Green material has been delivered throughout the spring to livestock breeders. Harvesting of these interim crops is also coming to a close in other oblasts of the republic. (1100)

Corn sowing has started in the southern rayons of Maritime Kray. It will occupy 105,000 hectares.

Farms in the Vakhsh valley have begun harvesting, including of the new barley varieties Vakhsh-34. (1130)

Scientific

Shatalov Discusses Space Program Plans

PM1205091988 Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian No 19, 7-13 May (Signed to Press 5 May 88) pp 4-5

[Own correspondent N. Popadin interview with Lieutenant General V.A. Shatalov, chief of the Yu.A. Gagarin Cosmonaut Training Center: "Space, Mars... and Restructuring"; date and place of interview not given]

[Text] [Popadin] Vladimir Aleksandrovich, at the Cosmonaut Training Center are you aware of the process of restructuring? Is restructuring possible given the army's principle of one-man command? For you are military men.

[Shatalov] Yes, I am a military man, a lieutenant general. But that is only an element of my biography.

The main thing is that I and my military colleagues are specialists in cosmonaut training. Incidentally, not everyone at the Cosmonaut Training Center is a military man. Civilians, scientists, and practical workers also work at our center. I would say that our center is a high-powered science-and-production association for training various specialists.

We see one of the key tasks in restructuring the work of the Cosmonaut Training Center as being to make the work of the cosmonaut more efficient so that each flight turns a new page in the history of the assimilation of space and enables mankind to investigate it on "an industrial basis." It is obvious even now that a cosmonaut's work in orbit is more effective than it was previously. This is also being achieved through more substantial—than before—training on earth. We are setting up new laboratories and are trying during training to ensure that earth conditions simulate space conditions as closely as possible. A minute of time in space costs a great deal, and we simply do not have the right not to take this into consideration on earth today.

Simulators and computers (Soviet manufactured, note) are being improved. Our equipment is not as bad as some people sometimes imagine. The organizational and personnel structure is also being improved. We are trying to combine jobs and achieve greater results for less resources. We are absorbing related specialisms. We are also making use of the potential of people who retire on pension. There is no organization in the country training specialists to train cosmonauts. We are as it were a "non-mass production process."

As for one-man command in the army, I believe that this principle has totally proved its worth. Moreover each decision is carefully prepared and discussed collectively—for it is a question of people's lives.

[Popadin] Some of our readers have asked the question: Why is the title of Hero of the Soviet Union only conferred twice for space flight? Others, on the contrary, think that the awarding of the title of Hero has almost become a ritual after almost every space flight....

[Shatalov] Questions are not always asked in a competent manner. There is a statute to the effect that the title of Hero of the Soviet Union is awarded for outstanding achievements, experiments, and work, for people's heroic deeds. Cosmonauts have not been awarded the title of Hero of the Soviet Union every time or for all flights. There were flights which did not make a major new contribution to the development of science and technology. Some flights came to an end owing to technical failure. This happened during the flight by V. Kovalenko and V. Ryumin. They were awarded medals for these flights.

V. Titov was not awarded the title of Hero for his first flight, nor were Cosmonauts A. Serebrov and G. Strekalov, although they were not responsible for the incomplete fulfillment of the programs. By the way, Colonel V. Titov is also in space now without being a Hero of the Soviet Union. So it is not a ritual.

I agree with those who think that the honored title of Hero of the Soviet Union should only be awarded once. For, if I am twice Hero and my comrade is only once, it looks as though he is as it were an "incomplete" Hero, and a twice Hero looks somehow insipid in comparison with a three-time Hero, and in comparison with a four-time Hero—could be considered to have bronze on his lapel rather than gold. But this is incorrect. Moreover, in our country there are awards which could mark outstanding achievements by people who are already Heroes of the Soviet Union or Heroes of Socialist Labor.

[Popadin] Vladimir Aleksandrovich, many people are interested in the nature of the shuttle and how soon it will be launched.

[Shatalov] TASS has already issued a report on the shuttle.

Our system is somewhat different from the U.S. shuttle system. The U.S. craft is simultaneously a booster rocket, capable of delivering a payload of up to 29.5 tonnes into various orbits.

Our system is a single package, which can incorporate an "Energiya" research rocket and a shuttle. The "Energiya" booster rocket can work independently—without the shuttle—putting a payload of up to 100 tonnes into orbit. Although our craft is different from the U.S. craft, it does at the same time have some similarities with it, which are dictated by the necessary aerodynamic characteristics and tasks. Efficiency and economy are the basis for the creation of the apparatus in question. So our shuttle craft will resemble one another externally.

It is wrong to say whether this is better or worse, but this system will indisputably make it possible to put into space the sort of payload that we previously only dreamed about. For instance, during preparations for an expedition to the Moon or to Mars, structures weighing up to 100 tonnes will be put [budut dostavlyatsya] into orbit following a single launch. The time saving and benefit are obvious.

The Americans have brought various objects back from space using the shuttle. This experience is also of interest for us. For their part U.S. specialists are working to set up space stations and nonreusable rockets. Of course, everyone in the world is looking for the optimum scenario. But they will also need an "Energiya" type rocket in the future.

When will our system be operational? There is no doubt that it will become operational. But it will only become operational when the functioning of all its elements from takeoff to landing have been tested. This will be announced in good time. But when people abroad whip up passions about our launch programs and some U.S. lead in opening up space, I can assure you that we are operating according to plan.

[Popadin] Are there any differences in training cosmonauts for the shuttle and for traditional rockets?

[Shatalov] Of course there are differences. The equipment is new. In addition to the orbital section of the flight, where the training will be conducted according to tried and tested methods, there is also the atmospheric section. Here the craft acts as a conventional aircraft with complex guidance, drive, and airfield landing systems. Training for work in this area must be carried out using the methods for training the crews of modern supersonic aircraft and demands preliminary high-level flight training on various types of aircraft.

[Popadin] How many men will take off in the first shuttle?

[Shatalov] When the Americans tested the shuttle, two men took off. I believe that this experience is reasonable and can be used in our country.

[Popadin] If we use shuttle craft in the future, will conventional rocket flights come to an end?

[Shatalov] No. They both fulfill quite different objectives, which will supplement one another. We do not intend to halt flights on rockets and stations, and we will continue work to improve them and also work on the shuttle.

Incidentally, the United States is developing a station for use in orbit and crew rescue systems. NASA is undertaking the project on a competitive basis, with money being no object. I believe that we could well use this experience in our country.

[Popadin] Vladimir Aleksandrovich, are there plans for an expedition to the moon?

[Shatalov] The moon is indisputably of great interest for researchers as the nearest celestial body to the earth. It can be used as an intermediary base for launches into deep space or as an independent base for research work. Lunar conditions already make many things possible—ranging from the production of special materials to the extraction of oxygen by chemical means from the moon's soil. In the near future, mankind will study the moon in earnest, like all countries are today, for instance, studying the Antarctic.

Permanent expeditions and, possibly, international crews will live on the moon. But these are as yet only prognoses, although specialists are already working on projects for future settlements, making dreams a reality.

[Popadin] A great deal is now being said about a flight to Mars made up of international crews, and books have even been published in the United States about the prospect of the Russians flying to Mars. What is your response to this?

[Shatalov] A great deal has indeed begun to be said recently about Mars. Some people in the West think that we want to be first in matters relating to Mars in order to leave others behind....

At one time, there was the same kind of talk about the Moon, and the then U.S. president, John Kennedy, even stated that the landing of Americans on the moon first was a matter of the nation's prestige after having missed the chance, to use his expression, of sending up the first artificial satellite from the earth and the first man into space.

What can I say about the Americans' moon expeditions? The moon landing was achieved so brilliantly that you can only feel proud of human intelligence.

But our "lunar achievements" aren't so bad, either—moon rock has been brought back to earth, Lunokhod roved across the lunar "seas"—so for years there has been no reason to say that we have fallen hopelessly behind the United States. Furthermore, to be honest, we have not concerned ourselves with moon matters in earnest since we had several other tasks.

Our achievements in cosmonautics are clear, but we will not pursue sensations. The main feature of our cosmonautics is our consistency in setting up orbital stations.

But we are not forgetting the "Mars mission." It is my personal opinion that this must be a flight by an international crew trained by various countries.

[Popadin] So we will get to Mars?

[Shatalov] I think that we will get to Mars, and I do not foresee any competition with anyone. If people don't cooperate with us, then we will fly independently, of course—but after the year 2000.

[Popadin] Vladimir Aleksandrovich, perhaps we shouldn't develop shuttle craft and the Americans shouldn't develop orbital stations—what about cooperation in these fields? Suppose they were to work on our stations and we were to fly on their shuttles?

[Shatalov] Cooperation is always a good thing. But our projects are already being implemented and are close to completion. There is no point in ending the projects in other countries where practical steps have already been taken. Is our "Mir" station ideal? No. It is constantly being improved and another newer station will be created in the future. The creation of a joint station with U.S. specialists is also possible if we cooperate. Real groundwork for this already exists.

Sakharov Working on Aspects of Particle Physics

LD1105115488 Moscow World Service in English 1100 GMT 11 May 88

[Text] Academician Andrey Sakharov is now working on the cosmological aspects of elementary particle physics. This has been reported by the MOSCOW NEWS weekly, whose correspondent visited Dr Sakharov in his apartment. Dr Sakharov believes he does not quite keep up with the progress in his avenue of research, because for some time he had to choose between research and public activities, and that is why he usually works until 0300.

Dr Sakharov lives in a two-room apartment, and his study is one floor down from it. Dr Sakharov is one of the directors of the Fund for the Survival and Development of the Human Race. He gives scientific consultations and meets with journalists. Dr Sakharov is an active and rightful contributor to the process of restructuring under way in the Soviet Union. He described it as an event of enormous importance for this country and the world at large.

Threat to Ozone Discussed With U.S. Scientists

LD1105093488 Moscow TASS in English 0826 GMT 11 May 88

[Text] Moscow May 11 TASS—Problems concerning the impact of man's industrial activity on the environment and, in particular, on the climate and atmosphere of the earth are the focus of attention at a Soviet-U.S. two-day seminar on "greenhouse effect".

The seminar, which opened at the Space Research Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences today, is being attended by more than 50 leading scientists of the two countries in the field of terrestrial sciences, cosmology, as well as by representatives of the government institutions of the Soviet Union and the United States who directly tackle environmental protection problems.

Today the scientists began to discuss the causes and possible consequences of the depletion of the ozone layer of the atmosphere. They agree that widespread industrial utilisation of freons is one of the main factors contributing to the formation of the "ozone hole" over Antarctica.

The scientists pointed out with approval that the utilisation of freons in industry was being reduced in both the Soviet Union and the United States while perfumeries began to use gas fillers, which are harmless to the environment, in aerosol sprays.

Marchuk, Redford Speak

LD1105222888 Moscow TASS in English 2000 GMT 11 May 88

[Text] Moscow May 11 TASS—A discussion of the forecast of change in the earth's climate within the next century with an eye to man's industrial activity, and elaboration of methods of adaptation to them is the aim of the Soviet-American seminar on the "hot house effect" (a warming up as a result of man-induced impact on nature), which opened in Moscow today.

Guriy Marchuk, president of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, noted in his speech that with the current rate of industrialization there is a probability within the next one hundred years of a rise in the average temperature on earth by 0.3 degrees Centigrade. "If the rate of industrialization and, consequently, of environmental pollution grows", he said, "temperature can rise by 1.3-1.5 degrees."

At the same time Academician Marchuk emphasized that this temperature may increase by only 0.1 degree due to global regulation of the natural processes, the use of alternative renewable energy sources.

If drastic nature protection measures are not taken now, the scientist believes, the most fantastic consequences are possible including even the melting of the ice covers of the Arctic and Antarctic and a rise in the world ocean level with only a one-two degrees rise in average temperature worldwide. "Cooperation, an exchange of fresh data on questions of the change in climate, the start for which was marked by the current Soviet-American seminar are humanity's vital needs", Guriy Marchuk believes.

Robert Redford, president of the Institute for Resource Management, gives top priority to the resolution of ecological problems after the problems of peace and disarmament. He said that the objective of the scientists today is to explain to political figures and broad public the danger of humanity's grown impact on the natural environment. "A catastrophic change in climate, unlike the millenia of natural climatic processes, for example, the cooling in the icing period, may now take place within the lifetime of one generation," Robert Redford said.

In his opinion, the Soviet-American seminar on "hothouse effect" will enable scientists of the two countries to exchange the results of their investigations. They expressed confidence that it will be possible soon to elaborate on their basis a reliable forecast of the development of the earth's climate by the year 2050, to elaborate methods of combating atmospheric pollution and also to outline ways of humanity's adaptation to forthcoming warming up of the climate.

Briefs

Space Research Council

A new scientific council for space research for the national economy has been set up in Leningrad. It will coordinate the efforts of scientists in the northwestern regions and the Baltic republics in expanding the use made of information provided by satellites as applied to needs here on earth. A look from orbit distinguishes immeasurably more than a survey made on earth. This makes it possible to study the special features of natural phenomena over considerable territories. If one takes into account the promptness with which the information is received and the regularity of monitoring, then the possibility opens up of making a comprehensive analysis and forecasting changes in intensive complexes, for example, in the ecology of water bodies. [Text] [*LD1105033788 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0900 GMT 10 May 88*]

Military

Officers Commemorate Second World War Victims
PM1205092988 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 11 May 88 First Edition p 1

[TASS report: "Heroes' Eternal Glory"]

[Text] The troop formation stood erect by the Kremlin Wall. The standards of the combat units and formations that won fame in engagements with the fascist invaders were unfurled overhead.

The following came to the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier to pay their respects to the bright memory of those who gave their last drop of blood fighting for the honor, freedom, and independence of our socialist fatherland and did not live until the victory: Army General D.T. Yazov, CPSU Central Committee Politburo candidate member and USSR defense minister; Marshal of the Soviet Union S.F. Akhromeyev, USSR first deputy defense minister; Marshal of the Soviet Union V.G. Kulikov, USSR first deputy defense minister; Army General P.G. Lushev, USSR first deputy defense minister; Army General A.D. Lizichev, chief of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate; Army General Yu.P. Maksimov, USSR deputy defense minister; Army General I.M. Tretyak, USSR deputy defense minister; Marshal of Aviation A.N. Yefimov, USSR deputy defense minister; Fleet Admiral V.N. Chernavin, USSR deputy defense minister; Army General M.I. Sorokin, USSR deputy defense minister; Marshal of the Soviet Union S.K. Kurkotkin, USSR deputy defense minister; Army General V.M. Shabanov, USSR deputy defense minister; Marshal of Engineering Troops N.F. Shestopalov, USSR deputy defense minister; Army General V.L. Govorov, USSR deputy defense minister; Army General D.S. Sukhorukov, USSR deputy defense minister; and commanders, generals, and admirals from the Soviet Armed Forces.

Wreaths from members of the USSR Armed Forces were laid at the tomb to the sound of a funeral march.

The Soviet national anthem was played. Moscow Garrison troop subunits passed before the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier in precise formation to pay their military respects to those who fell.

Leaders Remember World War Battles, Heroes

Lushev on Career, Lessons
PM1105111488 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 9 May 88 p 1

[Interview with Army General P.G. Lushev, USSR first deputy defense minister and Hero of the Soviet Union, by KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA: "No Holiday Is Brighter"; date and place not given]

[Text] [KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA] Petr Georgiyevich, you belong to the generation of military leaders who trod the roads of war. Please tell us, what shape did your frontline career take?

[Lushev] I joined the war straight from school. I began my service as a soldier in the terrible year 1941. Then, after completing a training course for junior lieutenants, I took part in the fighting on the Volkhov and Leningrad fronts. I was a platoon commander, battalion chief of staff, and company commander. I ended the war in the Baltic region.

In the war years I saw and experienced much. I witnessed many heroic feats by our servicemen. The first battles are particularly memorable. I saw soldiers changing before my eyes. The skill of waging war was won in the course of fierce fighting.

[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA] Today, after many years of life and army service, you doubtless look at the events of the Great Patriotic War in a different way from the way you looked at them at the time. What has changed in your outlook, your assessments? What, in your view, are the main lessons of the war?

[Lushev] They say more can be seen from a distance. So it is with the events of the Great Patriotic War. Now, more than 40 years after it ended, the magnitude of that victory can be seen more clearly. You can form a clearer idea of the strength of our system, its invincibility, the

inexhaustibility of the people's forces. The most important, most valuable thing the victory gave us is the opportunity to live and work in conditions of peace. And I am proud of my part in that great historic event.

During the war, I assessed many things from the standpoint of a young commanding officer, there was much that I did not know. Now, from the standpoint of the passing years and great experience of service in the Armed Forces, it seems possible to take a wider, more objective look at a number of specific events of the last war, especially its initial period.

Today we realize that on the eve of the war not all the available opportunities for rebuffing the fascist aggression were effectively or fully utilized. The belated deployment of our Armed Forces was unjustified. The unjustified repressions that tore the best military cadres from our ranks were a heavy burden on the Army and Navy. From May 1937 through September 1938 alone, about half the regimental commanders, nearly all the brigade and divisional commanders, and all the corps commanders and commanders and members of military councils of military districts were repressed. The consequences of these measures could not fail to have an impact on the first days of the war.

Now for the lessons of the Great Patriotic War. Chief among them is the lesson that it is necessary to fight against war before it begins. That is also particularly important because in present-day conditions the most reactionary circles of imperialism continue to gamble on military force in resolving interstate problems. The lessons of the war should be a serious warning to them, and at the same time a call for a high degree of vigilance on our part.

[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA] Much is now being said about "blank spots" in the history of the Great Patriotic War and subjectivism in assessing some of its events. We would like to hear your attitude to this problem.

[Lushev] If you take an unbiased view, the history of the Great Patriotic War as a whole and its main events and actual course are relatively fully and on the whole correctly reflected in our historical and autobiographical literature and official documents.

But unfortunately the truth has not always been revealed. Subjectivism has been displayed by certain authors and there have been inaccuracies in the evaluation of victories and military failures. The events of the first months of the war, its initial period, were not always fully uncovered. All this to some extent lessened the objectiveness of coverage of the course of the war. Undoubtedly, if we avoid the tricky points in its history, we cannot draw the correct conclusions for the future.

At present all these matters are being reinterpreted from the standpoints of the new political thinking, glasnost, and historical truth. In accordance with a decision of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo a new 10-volume scholarly work on the history of the Great Patriotic War is in preparation. In this seminal work the entire course of the war is to be objectively revealed and the whole truth about its history is to be illuminated, from truly scientific standpoints and on the basis of in-depth analysis.

[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA] We describe those who serve today as the heirs of victory. We call them that mainly from habit, without thinking deeply about the meaning of those words. But generations succeed one another, the times change, the whole tenor of army life changes...

[Lushev] I think Soviet servicemen are called the heirs of victory not only from habit, but by right. Yes, the Army and Navy are growing younger. Very few people who took part in the Great Patriotic War and who have the benefit of combat experience remain in the Armed Forces. The leadership of units, formations, and even large formations has fallen to the sons and grandsons of those who, carrying weapons on the battlefields and working in the rear, secured victory. But the continuity of generations is not lost.

It must be said that the majority of servicemen today worthily continue the glorious combat traditions. The heroism of the war years is manifested in our day too, when officers and men have to carry out real combat tasks that require the utmost efforts, and sometimes self-sacrifice. So it was with the elimination of the accident at the Chernobyl AES, and also in Afghanistan, where our servicemen displayed exemplary courage and heroism in fulfilling their international duty. Their feats are similar to the feats of past generations. In the last 5 years more than 50,000 servicemen belonging to the Komsomol have been awarded orders and medals, while 58,000 young soldiers, seamen, and officers have been presented with Komsomol awards.

[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA] Restructuring in the Army. The readers' mail shows that not all servicemen are ready for it, many have only a poor idea of what is actually required of them today.

[Lushev] The Army is an integral part of Soviet society. In M.V. Frunze's words, it is the pattern, the mold of society. All the sociopolitical processes that take place in the country are manifested in the Armed Forces too. Therefore restructuring, which covers every aspect of our society's life, also fully affects the Army and Navy. All its constituent parts—overcoming stagnation phenomena, the course of acceleration, revolutionary renewal, democratization, the expansion of glasnost—also apply to the Armed Forces.

Together with the whole country, we have entered the second stage of restructuring. Its main task is to lift the Armed Forces to a new, higher level, first and foremost by improving in every way the style of activity of military cadres, resolutely increasing the effectiveness of combat and political training, and establishing strict regulation order everywhere.

But unfortunately the process is not proceeding smoothly everywhere. The stereotypes in thinking and in methods of resolving tasks that have grown up over the years hamper progress. Not everyone understands the nature and peculiarities of restructuring in the Army and Navy in light of the specific characteristics of the Armed Forces. In a number of cases there is much talk about restructuring but little action, and in the end everything remains as it was. Some servicemen have formed the opinion that it is impossible ever to eradicate shortcomings. Some have become reconciled to them. Others like the carefree, complacent attitude. It is not easy to change an established mentality, but we will have to do so.

The restructuring mechanism has been set up, is operating, and is yielding its first results. I can tell this on the basis of the results of my personal work actually among the troops.

[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA] We now talk and write openly about many problems that formerly we often kept quiet about. Real life in the military collectives was also, so to speak, a "closed book." When the closed door began to open, what did we see?

[Lushev] That simple way of putting the question is, in my view, incorrect. There are matters that constitute state and military secrets, but on the whole the life of the army, like the life of society, simply cannot be "closed." It is another matter that a whole series of shortcomings and problematic questions of army service were insufficiently fully covered in the press, literature, and art.

Yes, stagnation phenomena also occurred in the army. They were manifested in the organization of combat training, in omissions and errors in the strengthening of military discipline, and in the excessive adherence of a certain proportion of command and political personnel to administrative methods of leadership to the detriment of real, concrete organizational work with personnel.

[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA] One often hears that young people have lost interest in military service, that pacifist sentiments have become widespread among draftees and young servicemen. What are the causes of these phenomena?

[Lushev] The vast majority of young men correctly understand service in the Soviet Armed Forces as the honorable duty of every Soviet citizen, and fulfill with honor their duty of defending the socialist fatherland.

But at the same time it must be admitted that in recent years a certain proportion of young people have shown a marked lessening of interest in military service, while pacifist sentiments have appeared in certain young men. In this connection I would like to stress that in our complex times it is not enough to discuss war, it is necessary to struggle actively to prevent it. In this context it is necessary to constantly keep your powder dry and preserve military-strategic parity. Certain young people do not always correctly understand this and assume that its preservation and strengthening require no great efforts.

The cultivation of a correct attitude to military service is a statewide task. It is necessary to actively educate young people in the best traditions of combat and revolutionary glory of our people and their Armed Forces, in the examples of heroic defense of the motherland. This work must be stepped up in pioneer organizations and the Komsomol, schools, educational establishments, and DOSAAF organizations. The councils of war and labor veterans, reserve servicemen's clubs, and also military cadres can do much here, and are already doing so.

[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA] In a few days' time the withdrawal of the limited contingent of Soviet troops from the Republic of Afghanistan will begin. What are your thoughts and feelings about this event?

[Lushev] The decision to withdraw the limited continent of Soviet troops was, as M.S. Gorbachev stressed in the Statement on Afghanistan, an expression of our present political thinking, our new, modern vision of the world.

The servicemen of the limited continent of Soviet troops in Afghanistan are coming home with the sense of a military and international duty honorably and conscientiously fulfilled. They displayed our people's best qualities, the qualities that characterized the internationalists who fought at Halhin Gol and in Spain and who liberated the peoples of Europe from the brown plague.

[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA] The whole country marks Victory Day. But first and foremost it is the frontline men's holiday. If it is not a secret, Petr Georgiyevich, how do you personally spend that day?

[Lushev] By tradition, on Victory Day I will take part in the wreath-laying ceremony at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier, then I will go to the Gorkiy Culture and Leisure Park and try to meet with men from my regiment. Then I have to congratulate many friends from the front line, share with them the joys of this spring festival, and honor the memory of those who gave their lives for our victory. Victory Day is for me the brightest holiday of all.

Lizichev: Future Obligations

PM1205103188 Moscow TRUD in Russian
9 May 88 p 1

[Article by Army General A. Lizichev, chief of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate: "The People's Exploit"]

[Text] It is a great day for the country—the victory holiday. Today hundreds of thousands, indeed, millions of people will go out into city streets and squares, public gardens, and parks to pay tribute to the memory of those who brought the world the long-awaited victory in the spring of 1945. They include veterans. On their chests are combat orders and medals—for the defense of Moscow, Stalingrad, Kiev, Sevastopol, Odessa, Leningrad, the Caucasus, and the Soviet polar regions, for the capture of Budapest, Koenigsberg, Vienna, and Berlin, and for the liberation of Belgrade, Warsaw, and Prague.

These milestones along the long road to Victory mark the 1,418 days and nights of the Great Patriotic War. They mark unprecedented battles, fierce engagements, protracted defensive combat, fierce attacks, and deep tank raids into the enemy rear. And more—blood, losses running into millions, cities reduced to ashes, burned villages, and the sacred fraternal graves strung out in long chains all the way from the Volga to the Elbe...

Absolutely everything happened. Everything happened to us and within us. It was the most terrible war in the history of mankind, truly the biggest military clash between socialism and the strike forces of imperialism. The socialist fatherland's fate was decided in this most savage battle.

The entire country rose up to fight a people's war, a holy war, calling it the Great Patriotic War. Young and old alike rose up. Some with submachineguns, some with picks in the mine. The party rallied and cemented the Army and Navy, the militia, partisans and members of the underground, the front and the rear, and all USSR peoples and nationalities into a single combat camp.

Forty-three peaceful postwar years have healed the earth. Someone once said that time wears away the mounds of graves. But even all-powerful time will not erase from our memories the names of those who defended our motherland's honor and independence. The Soviet soldier's immortal feat in the snowy fields of the Moscow region and at the burning walls of Stalingrad will never be forgotten. Mankind will not forget those who destroyed the dreadful monster called German fascism. Our Armed Forces' combat banners are covered with unfading glory which will live on through the centuries and generations.

There are no forgotten pages in the Great Patriotic War, there are no anonymous heroes in the nationwide feat of arms. Every serviceman had a surname, a firstname, a motherland, a dream, a loved one (or perhaps not—they were too young). "The torments of the least prominent of those people," Julius Fucik wrote, "were no less than the torments of those who will go down in history."

History can show no other example of a truly nationwide display of patriotism and internationalism such as happened in the Great Patriotic War. Our victory showed that the Soviet social system, our socialist economy, and Marxist-Leninist ideology possess inexhaustible power. Soviet military science and military art superbly and victoriously showed their mettle. The Communist Party took upon itself full responsibility for the motherland's fate. This ensured complete unity of party, state, and military leadership.

The USSR did more than merely hold out and gain victory. It emerged from the most terrible and destructive of wars morally and politically stronger and increased its prestige and influence in the world. By demonstrating socialism's great vital strength, the victory of the Soviet people and their Armed Forces was also a formidable warning to imperialist reaction and all lovers of saber-rattling.

The country healed its wounds, rebuilt its cities, opened up its virgin lands and developed nuclear power, prepared the first launches of spacecraft, and enhanced the people's material and cultural well-being in a struggle of trial, error, and achievement. But people continued to look at us no longer through gunsights, but via radar screens.

Western propaganda tried to turn black into white and good into evil. To belittle our victory. To whitewash villains. To defame heroes. Victory over German fascism? they asked. They replied: It was not the Russians who won it, but the allies. Hitler was no military leader, it was not difficult to beat him...

In the postwar years "cold war" imperialist propaganda heaped up such piles of slander and lies that even now it is difficult for an honest man to fight his way through them.

Today our ideological opponents' claims of a "Soviet military threat" look staggeringly thin. They claim this even after Reykjavik, the treaty on intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles, and the decision to withdraw Soviet troops from Afghanistan! But there are some people who believe this...

We have never intended nor do we intend to attack anyone. The country is engaged in peaceful labor based on revolutionary restructuring, cardinal economic reform, and the democratization of all aspects of social life.

But we have not forgotten and must not forget anything. Neither the countless casualties, nor the ruined lives. We must carefully watch those who have the insane idea that history moves only round the same vicious circle: war—

defeat—gathering strength—another war. Our great victory teaches vigilance. So long as the danger of war persists, so long as social revenge remains the core of Western strategy and militarist programs, the party says, we must continue to do everything necessary to maintain defense might at a level precluding military superiority by imperialism over socialism.

In defense of socialism's interests, in the name of man's sacred right to life, freedom, and social progress, and in the name of world peace we will never allow the military-strategic equilibrium between the USSR and the United States and between the Warsaw Pact and NATO to be disrupted. It is easy for us to say now—military-strategic parity. Yet how much of the people's labor, sweat, and, let's be frank, privation is embodied in that concept. Our people, even before they had recovered from the consequences of the last war, were forced, often denying themselves the most basic essentials, to create the present USSR Armed Forces—a powerful defensive shield for our state and the entire socialist community.

What do the Army and Navy mean today? They mean, above all, 24-hour alert duty for the nuclear triad: strategic missile forces, strike aviation, and the Navy. They mean intensive combat training, primarily in natural "laboratories": in the field, in the air, and at sea. They mean guard duty, forced marches, and exercises: operational exercises, command staff exercises, and tactical exercises. They mean the Baykal-Amur Main Railroad, eliminating the consequences of the Chernobyl accident, large-scale housing construction, and repair plants and military sovkhozes where thousands of people work.

They mean the war in Afghanistan, which our troops entered at the request of the Afghan Government. The war there is nearing an end. The withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghan territory will begin 15 May. Our country is awaiting the return home of its sons who assisted a friendly, neighboring people who were in trouble. Soviet people will never forget their sons' exploit and will piously revere the memory of those who gave their lives on Afghan soil. The heroic deeds of N. Afinogenov, B. Gromov, A. Stovba, N. Chepik, I. Chmurov and many, many other internationalist servicemen are akin to the exploit of the servicemen in the Great Patriotic War. There were heroes before them, there are heroes now, and there will be heroes after them.

Retired Major Sergey Nikolayevich Kharchenko was seriously wounded—he was blinded, lost a leg, his arm is crippled, and skillful surgeons have still not been able to extract all the metal from his body. But he is proud that, as a company commander in Afghanistan, he did not lose a single man. We sometimes complain in everyday life: The wrong person has become commander or political worker, there is not the same spiritual bond with soldiers as Chapayev had when he invited his soldiers to tea. There is some truth in these words, of course. But we know something else: Our officers were the first to rise to the assault and the last to leave the battle, often carrying wounded soldiers on their shoulders. We know that officers, risking their lives, also carried out dangerous work at Chernobyl.

Perhaps the most distinctive feature of the restructuring in the Army and Navy since April 1985 has been precisely the rebirth of the great Red Army tradition—the genuine closeness of commanders and their subordinates. Many officers and generals have certainly begun to better understand that daily bread and spiritual bread grow in the same field of life.

I have visited garrisons near and far in the line of duty. The Polar regions, the Far East, the Baltic republics, the Carpathian region—these are the routes of past tours of duty. I have had many meetings, prolonged conversations with commanders, political workers, soldiers, and seamen... People talk about a variety of subjects. About restructuring in the country and democratization. About the lessons of history and the victory. About how our defensive military doctrine is cutting the ground from under the feet of the aggressive imperialist circles who accuse us of the so-called "Soviet military threat."

...The motorized rifle regiment commanded by Lieutenant Colonel V. Chichko is stationed in the Polar Region. All around are cliffs and tundra. A harsh environment, and harsh service life. But people in the regiment walk tall and their mood is enthusiastic, although combat training is taken to the limit, to the limit of physical strength. They are dead tired but they still smile. All because a new moral and political and ethical atmosphere has been created in the regiment whereby the regiment commander and the party committee consult not only their closest associates but all the soldiers. Two leave tickets, let us say, have been assigned per company. According to regulations, the commander has the right to decide who to send on leave. But he granted this right to the company collective: Provide names, vote, assign the leave tickets, and I will sign them. Not a single mistake, not a single complaint of unfairness. The worthiest people go on leave. An officers' meeting suggests to the regiment commander whom to promote to a new post, who deserves to study at the academy, and who should receive an award. Then the newly created permanent certification commission meets. The commander approves its decisions.

Take the tank regiment where Major V. Kozlov is party committee secretary. Incidentally, it used to be the worst in the formation. But about 2 years ago, it began to improve. People reorganized themselves, as if they were coming out of hibernation. Discipline was stepped up. Assessments for firing practice and driving improved. Many changes occurred because Communists appeared in the barracks. Now there are nine Communists among the sergeants and soldiers. Nine active party soldiers. Their beneficial influence is increasing. Senior Sergeant L. Baltrushaytis, Junior Sergeant F. Utebayev, Sergeant B. Poleshchuk, and others went to laggard companies,

organized a soldiers' lecture group, destroyed mutual protectionism in one of its subunits, and exposed the organizers of nonregulation relations...

But not everything, unfortunately, is satisfactory in the Army and Navy. There are omissions in combat and political training, and in mobilization readiness. Discipline in those units and on ships where so-called nonregulation relations flourish, more simply—"bullying"—particularly concerns each one of us. It is like a plague. It is difficult to cure. But it can be cured. Both by "surgical" and by "therapeutic" means. But primarily by improving individual educational work, being more demanding with officers and warrant officers (ensigns)—in professional and party terms—and increasing the role of the army public.

But the struggle will not be simple. It will be across the entire front. A struggle against complacency and self-satisfaction, against protectionism in cadre policy and empty show in combat training, against "satisfactory" discipline statistics that are used to cover up gross misdemeanors and incidents, against individual officials' inefficiency, against freeloading sentiments and serious shortcomings in the social sphere.

We must decisively improve young men's preparation for military service. Families, schools, rural vocational and technical schools, and tekhnikums sometimes create, as if on purpose, pampered living and working conditions for strong young men. But fierce winds blow on the firing ranges—in both the literal and the figurative sense. I think that we should all do substantially more for military-patriotic education. Military-patriotic and defense sports clubs have succeeded in uniting guys. Internationalist servicemen who received their baptism by fire in Afghanistan have become true leaders of young people in many cities and villages. "Rockers" and "headbangers" try to emulate them, and some of the young nihilists ensconced on "12th-floor staircases" [allusion unknown] came back down to earth. Many of them now live in a new moral atmosphere conducive to forming defenders of our motherland. In short, we have experience of military-patriotic work. But we must spread it everywhere in a timely fashion, involving military commissariats, trade unions, the Komsomol, the mass media, and creative unions in this work.

The voices of the war probably sound very muffled for guys who are now 18 years old. It is history to them. But I would like to believe that the same inextinguishable flame which motivated similar young lads to clamber out of their trenches in a hail of bullets to face mortal danger burns in their hearts.

Our victory is relevant to the present and the future. Its vibrant voice imposes great obligations upon us. The victory won through enormous bloodshed and colossal casualties requires that there be no weak links in our military organization. Combat readiness is the facet of modern army and navy life which must always be borne in mind, must always concern the serviceman.

In short, there is an enormous amount of work to be done. The 19th All-Union CPSU Conference lies ahead. We must meet it in a fitting manner. This means doing more in combat training and service, stepping up discipline, and imparting new momentum to the entire restructuring process among the troops.

Maksimov on Soldiers' Qualities

PM1105150188 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 9 May 88 First Edition p 2

[Interview with Hero of the Soviet Union Army General Yu.P. Maksimov, commander in chief of the Strategic Rocket Forces and USSR deputy defense minister, by KRASNAYA ZVEZDA correspondent Colonel V. Polezhayev: "Under Combat Banners"; date and place not given—first paragraph is KRASNAYA ZVEZDA introduction]

[Text] On the eve of Victory Day KRASNAYA ZVEZDA correspondent V. Polezhayev met with Hero of the Soviet Union Army General Yu.P. Maksimov, commander in chief of the Strategic Rocket Forces and USSR deputy defense minister, and asked him to answer a number of questions.

[Polezhayev] Comrade Army General, we are talking with you just before Victory Day. Naturally, this fact predetermines the nature of our discussion. When the war ended, you were only 20 years old. But, you had, as the saying goes, already had a taste of battle—you took part in battles as commander of a machinegun platoon and later as commander of a machinegun company, you were wounded on three occasions, and you were awarded three combat medals, including the Order of the Red Banner. It is easy to imagine the tension of combat life for machinegunners. What qualities did our fighters and commanders particularly need at that grim time?

[Maksimov] They were difficult years, but I have good memories of them. Probably because our lives were all utterly bound up with our motherland and our people. Each of us performing his military duty in the front line of the battle against treacherous fascism had a particularly acute sense of the greatness of spirit which the Soviet people displayed in rising to defend their country and the gains of October. Therefore each victory and each success were a source of delight for everyone, and the bitterness of bereavement and loss was felt very keenly. But the final victory was never in doubt.

Selflessness. Courage. Supreme steadfastness. Infinite love of the fatherland. Belief in victory. These wonderful qualities, tested under fire, were inherent in the soldiers of the Great Patriotic War. I would rate the feeling of ardent patriotism first among all these qualities. A

soldier raised in the spirit of patriotism will always fulfill his duty to the motherland to the last, as Ivan Kozhedub, Nikolay Gastello, Yuriy Smirnov, General Karbyshev, and countless others did.

It is said that war purifies man, as it were, and strips him of everything superficial. This is true. But I believe that anyone who affirms that love for the fatherland can only manifest itself on the battlefield or in an emergency is profoundly mistaken. True love for one's country and one's people is the principle which genuinely sanctifies all our activity. Today, when restructuring has unfolded in our country and when incomprehension, inertia, and resistance are encountered, attention to what are for us key concepts such as patriotism increases many times over.

Exploits are usually accomplished in a matter of moments. But you must constantly prepare for them. Combat training demands maximum exertion, discipline, activeness, initiative, and creativity. It is not sudden impulses, blitzes, and cramming that are needed to achieve high results but planned systematic everyday work. It was heroism in this sort of work that V.I. Lenin considered the most difficult kind.

[Polezhayev] Among the reasons for Soviet troops' misfortunes in the initial period of the war is one which we talk about today with particular bitterness...

[Maksimov] You mean the repressions against command cadres in the prewar years? Yes, Stalin's personality cult, the associated violations of socialist legality, and the arbitrary rule seriously damaged the country's defense capability and the cause of reinforcing the army and navy. Many military chiefs, including Blyukher, Tukhachevskiy, Yegorov, Yakir, and Uborevich, whose skills of leadership were renowned, were subjected to repressions.

However, today I must talk not only about the physical losses—from regimental level to the General Staff. We also think bitterly about what happened in the hearts of the commanders and political workers left in the Armed Forces and the moral damage they suffered. Nevertheless, from the very beginning of the war our servicemen demonstrated their loyalty to the socialist motherland, Soviet patriotism, unbending will, and faith in victory over the enemy.

[Polezhayev] After the war you served in various staff and command posts, in particular, you commanded a regiment and a division. To what extent did your frontline experience come in useful for you as a commander and organizer at that time? What can you say today about the use of frontline experience in general?

[Maksimov] The scientific-technical revolution has also introduced many innovations in military matters and in forms and methods of leading troops. But the experience of combat operations gained during the war years has not lost its significance. Nor has commanders' experience of thorough and specific work to organize collaboration and a firing system, strictly verify fulfillment of the set tasks, and offer subordinates timely aid lost its significance.

If you are talking about the more specific substance of frontline experience and especially the area of frontline experience which can be used today, I would single out above all the experience of working with personnel under combat conditions and the experience of training and rallying people and molding in them those combat and moral-political qualities which played a decisive role in routing the enemy.

I would particularly like to talk about the political workers with whom I jointly resolved combat tasks. They dealt with literally everything: whether soldiers precisely understood their combat tasks, the state of their weapons and combat equipment, whether everyone was shod and clothed appropriately, whether they had been fed, and whether they had managed to sleep and read the latest newspapers... It is simply impossible to list everything which a political worker took care of when preparing personnel for battle. He was the first to rise to the attack, leading Communists and all fighters in his footsteps.

This experience does not age and is not forgotten as the years go by. Even today, especially with the start of restructuring, it reliably helps to strengthen troop collectives' discipline and unity and improve soldiers' morale, initiative, and creativity in service.

[Polezhayev] It is a peculiar time at the moment for the Rocket Forces: They are awaiting ratification of the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-range Missiles. How do the missilemen in the units directly affected by the implementation of the treaty view the situation?

[Maksimov] They take a correct, state view of it. Although, of course, the feelings now being experienced by missilemen are not unequivocal. They know better than anyone what huge resources and what labor has been invested in creating these weapons. Missile garrisons are located in the heart of the taiga, in the middle of uninhabited plains, away from population centers. Many of our officers have devoted the best years of their lives to the service, sometimes under the harshest climatic conditions, constantly overcoming adversity and privations. It will not be so easy to renounce everything they have experienced and suffered, which has become habitual and dear to them.

At the same time people are in an optimistic mood. The initiatives of the party and government in the disarmament sphere express the most cherished hopes of our entire people. For the treaty is a kind of indicator of the level achieved by the potential for peace as a result of the

new thinking. For us missilemen the treaty means in addition the need for even more rigorous demands in questions of vigilance, combat readiness, and the Rocket Forces' combat training.

[Polezhayev] The main feature of the training for Strategic Rocket Forces' personnel is that even in peacetime they fulfill combat tasks. In turn this specific feature gives rise to another: When he begins alert duty at a strategic rocket control panel, an officer in the Rocket Forces is, as you once said, in a kind of "waiting mode" where literally every second counts. Day in, day out, year in, year out there is maximum tension, maximum inward alertness. But man is not an automaton and sooner or later under such conditions his reactions may be dulled, which, naturally, will not have the best impact on the acuteness of his perception and on his readiness to react immediately to an alert.

[Maksimov] This specific situation does exist. But the fact is that many of our officers perform alert duty for 15-20 years or more and, despite this, the overwhelming majority of them have lost no acuity of perception or readiness for immediate actions. This is illustrated by the results of the most strict and exhaustive monitoring. This the reality: A man has hundreds and thousands of days on alert duty behind him, but not one of them was routine for him or has faded in his mind. This is the norm in missilemen's life and service. For those who are entrusted with fulfilling combat tasks are always in the center of attention.

Celebrations honoring servicemen rated excellent for combat alert duty have become traditional in missile garrisons. Typically, everyone who is free is invited to these evenings. Members of their families come along with ensigns and officers and their subordinates. It is a long established rule with one purpose: The young are always alongside the veterans and the children are always alongside the adults. The youngsters learn from their seniors, share their joys and concerns, and haul themselves up to their level in every area—discipline, responsibility, and comprehension of the state significance of the tasks being resolved. Precisely state significance. Because an officer's mood at a strategic missile control panel is directly affected not only by his chiefs, but also by his subordinates, and his relatives—his wife and children.

[Polezhayev] In one of your speeches recalling the war years, you said that there at the front the platoon commander was "professor of his trade." Those words voiced a high assessment of young wartime officers. But at the same time...a reproach to today's lieutenants...

[Maksimov] That's not quite true. When I mentioned my contemporaries of the war years I had no intention of comparing them with the young officers of today. There are no grounds for this. For the most part the lieutenants of the forties and eighties are patriots and internationalists, men of duty and honor, men of steadfast, noble, strong characters.

As for a reproach, that can only apply to an insignificant proportion of the lieutenants of today. But we must discuss this. For the lighter the overall background, the more sharply individual dark facets and problems in work stand out in contrast. What happens is this: A young officer—whom everyone thinks a fine fellow—has stable theoretical and practical training and a wide outlook, but things don't go well for him. He is let down by the weakness of his skills at handling people and sometimes a frank disregard of close contacts with people. Worse still—certain lieutenants lack elementary organization, discipline, and will. And have an excess of consumerist and freeloading sentiments.

What is the reason for this? My first thought: omissions at colleges and faults in training. However, on closer scrutiny you see that the negative roots go deeper. One man had shown himself to be an egoist as a teenager, another was pampered and petted by his parents, and another simply entered the college by mistake... The deeper the roots, the more difficult it is to extirpate them. The problem of military-patriotic education and of training young people for army service again arises here. In this context we are entitled to complain to educational establishments, sports organizations, and the Komsomol, which have been unable to foster in young people the qualities necessary in the army from the outset.

[Polezhayev] It is well known that when the Strategic Rocket Forces were set up, many missile units were organized on the basis of frontline regiments whose combat banners were covered with truly everlasting glory. What can you say about the traditions which missilemen inherited from war heroes?

[Maksimov] Above all that today interest in history is growing, including interest in heroic history. Traditions remain in service, growing stronger and performing their work. I will give you an example. The N [not further identified] missile unit has five orders on its combat banner. It covered thousands of fiery miles and ended its combat path near Berlin. Today every soldier, sergeant, ensign, and officer knows the stages of the path covered by their regimental comrades in arms and their exploits. The frontline soldiers are a constant invisible presence in the ranks of the missilemen. The bust of Captain B. Khigrin, whose name has been entered forever on the unit's rolls, stands on a pedestal in the center of the military camp. Not far from the bust is a flagpole where a flag flutters in honor of the subunit that has won the competition. Parades are held here, orders are read out, and frontrunners are honored...

I would especially like to mention the use of combat traditions to foster such qualities as assiduity, discipline, and organization. A soldier is unthinkable without these qualities. In combat two forces come out in every man—a sense of duty and a sense of self-preservation. When a third force enters—discipline—sense of duty always takes the upper hand.

[Polezhayev] Could you now talk quite specifically about the results of restructuring which have appeared in missilemen's life and service?

[Maksimov] The main result is that the atmosphere itself in troop collectives has changed and people's general mood has changed for the better. They have, as it were, raised their heads and squared their shoulders and are facing up to facts honestly and openly and talking aloud about sensitive issues. All this has manifested itself in an especially marked fashion at report meetings devoted to the progress of restructuring. It is to Communists' credit that they posed essentially the most topical questions at most of these meetings and put them to specific people, regardless of title and rank.

A comparatively short time has elapsed since then, but it has shown that a clear turnaround in practical affairs has emerged. More attention is being devoted to people's thoughts, sentiments, and opinions and to everything which urgently needs to be resolved. On the other hand, attempts to avoid controversies and replace exacting analysis by empty talk are less frequent. If you are talking about those who set the tone in restructuring I would first cite the following commanders and political workers: N. Mikhaylov, Yu. Sereda, N. Ulyanov, V. Yakovlev, A, Selyunin, Yu. Vasin, Yu. Tsvetkov, and many others. They are energetic, thoughtful, and enterprising officers who are boldly advancing.

At present Communists in the Strategic Rocket Forces, like all army and navy servicemen, are preparing for the 19th all-union party conference. We are telling commanders, political organs, and party organizations not to wait to hear what the party forum will say. As M.S. Gorbachev has pointed out, a great deal has been said already and the main thing now is to act and take an active part in working out ideas and proposals whose implementation will enrich all party life. So each commander and each party organization, in the specific conditions of their work, can make the maximum contribution to resolving the tasks of restructuring and boosting the Armed Forces' combat readiness.

Maksimov on Current Tasks

AU1105140088 Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 9 May 88 pp 1,4

[Interview with Army General Yuriy Maksimov, commander in chief of the USSR Strategic Rocket Forces and USSR deputy minister of defense:, by unnamed NOVOSTI correspondent, specially for NARODNA ARMIYA: "Lessons of Security"; date and place not given]

[Text] [NOVOSTI] Yuriy Pavlovich, you participated in the war against fascist Germany. From the point of view of a military commander and from your personal experience, how would you describe the historic significance of fascist Germany's defeat for our contemporary epoch?

[Maksimov] The victory over fascism, the 43d anniversary of which is celebrated by all mankind, was achieved in the most devastating of all wars. The major part of the military equipment and personnel of the fascist Wehrmacht and of Germany's allies were destroyed in the war. The Soviet Armed Forces carried out 50 strategic and 250 front operations, thousands and thousands of battles were fought. This was a contribution of decisive importance to the defeat of fascist Germany. However, we will never forget that all peoples made sacrifices in this war. I am always moved by the terrifying fact that mankind paid for the victory over fascism with 55 million victims. This is such a tremendously high price for peace that it should prevent us from ever jeopardizing it again. If we obey the logic of common sense, such a war should never be repeated.

[NOVOSTI] Which of the lessons from the Great Patriotic War is of particular importance under the present circumstances?

[Maksimov] In the first place, there is the bitter lesson of the initial period of the war. The shortcomings in connection with maintaining the combat readiness of the Soviet Armed Forces at the necessary level permitted the enemy to inflict a severe strike. We remember this lesson. I think that, to stop the aggressor, a sufficient defense potential is required for the country and the armed forces.

As to combat readiness, we are aware of the considerable changes introduced by the nuclear century in the understanding and meaning of this term. These changes are determined by the existence of weapons, owned by the enemy, that are permanently ready for a surprise attack, and by the nature of modern technical equipment. In this respect, it is appropriate to recall the lessons of the last war. A nuclear strike can suddenly change the situation, and this applies to the balance of forces, in particular. Therefore, the combat readiness of the Strategic Rocket Forces mainly lies in their capacity for a retaliatory strike. Their power and the necessary potential for a retaliatory strike are likely to make an aggressor think about the possible consequences he would have to bear. In our opinion, this is one of the factors in preventing a war, in which, as everyone admits, there will be no victors.

[NOVOSTI] The possibility of retaliation, of course, is an important factor in the efforts to stop an aggressor. Nevertheless, is it not important to prevent the conflict itself, which would inevitably assume a global dimension and end with the annihilation of all mankind? What specifically is being done to prevent such a conflict?

[Maksimov] The USSR and its allies—the Warsaw Pact member states—are well aware of the necessary measures that should be adopted in this respect. In full accordance with the defensive nature of their military doctrine, their efforts are solely aimed at preventing war. The commitment of the USSR not to be the first to use nuclear arms is a specific expression of this attitude. We would wish the other side to act in the same manner, without seeking any advantage for itself. Proceeding from the realities of the nuclear missile century, it is necessary to observe the principle of equal security. It is significant to point out that this idea was expressed at the Bern meeting of the USSR and U.S. defense ministers held in March 1988.

Nowadays it is very important that the USSR and the United States should be both firmly resolved to avert any kind of war. A real step forward in this direction was marked by the signing of the INF Treaty in Washington. Along with this, the treaty became a preface to a new initiative which is tremendous in scope—namely, the progress on the question of a mutual limitation of strategic, offensive weapons.

I would like to stress that the training of military personnel in the rocket forces today is taking place under peculiar circumstances. We are expected to participate in the implementation of the Soviet-American INF Treaty, provided that it ratified, of course. We are preparing for and we will accomplish the tasks assigned to us in this connection. However, for the time being the situation requires us to maintain our combat readiness at the necessary level.

Shabanov on Strength

PM1105082788 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 9 May 88 p 1

[Article by Army General V. Shabanov, USSR deputy defense minister for armaments: "About Courage, About Valor, About Glory"]

[Text] Majestic monuments in cities' central squares and modest small pyramids with red stars on top at the intersections of rural roads represent the anguish suffered by our whole people, an anguish that has not abated with the passage of time. Obelisks stand sentinel in our memory like soldiers of the fatherland. More than 20 million lives were laid on the altar of victory. The imagination pales before this figure. After all, every single unit that goes to make it up represent a human life. Killed in battle, died from their wounds, tortured in Gestapo torture chambers, they saved the planet from fascism. The expression "Soviet man" is synonymous with the feat. These people stand, invisible, next to each one of us, the survivors.

The sinister details of the criminal scheme for an armed crusade against the USSR were to come to light at the Nuremberg trial, when the international tribunal was shown the "Barbarossa" Plan, with a red band running from corner to corner which, in German military paperwork, indicated the top degree of secrecy. It seemed that Hitler's strategists had made provision for everything. They had scrupulously calculated the quantity of manpower, animals, and equipment, of fuel and ammunition, compared the correlation of forces, and estimated the distances to Moscow, Leningrad, and Baku. They had calculated the maximum speed of advance of tank columns. According to their estimates, the "Blitzkrieg" should have lasted 6-8 weeks. Some 5.5 million fascist soldiers and officers were brought into action across the gigantic space between the Barents Sea and the Black Sea, with 5,000 aircraft, 4,300 tanks, and about 50,000 field guns and mortars. The first strike utilized the entire strength of an army which had been mobilized well in advance, with 2 years of experience in waging war and armed with the latest equipment. Along the line of his main thrusts the enemy enjoyed a threefold and in places even fivefold superiority.

The only thing the compilers of the "Barbarossa" Plan underestimated was Soviet people's courage and their cohesion around the Communist Party, and they failed to take into account the potential of the socialist economy. They had not envisaged that the path of the all-victorious armada would be blocked by the Brest Fortress in a battle to the death, that Political Instructor Filchenko and his Red Navy men would don webbing belts fitted with hand grenades and throw themselves under the tracks of a huge Krupp-made armored monster, that General Karbyshev would opt for a martyr's death rather than the infamy of treason.

The guns roared for 1,418 days and nights. There were 1,418 separating 22 June from 9 May. And every single day was "unique" in its own fashion. The fate of the future was being decided on the approaches to Moscow and near Stalingrad, in the mountain passes of the Caucasus and in the snows near Murmansk, along the Kursk Salient and in the open spaces of the Baltic Sea.

The bloody battles tested not only the troop leadership skills and will of military commanders and the courage and valor of soldiers. The experience and talents of creators of combat equipment clashed in an uncompromising duel. The miscalculations and errors committed during the prewar years were mercilessly brought to light. At the same time, there was absolute evidence of successful solutions based on correct assessments of armaments development and on the most promising utilization of the achievements of science and engineering ideas. The combat experience of the Great Patriotic War convincingly confirmed that the majority of constructive solutions by the developers of our military equipment were correct.

Possessing a smaller industrial base than fascist Germany, which had at its disposal the resources of almost the whole of Europe, the Soviet Union produced in the war years almost twice as much top-quality armaments and combat equipment.

The "KV" heavy tank proved essentially invincible at the start of the war. The Wehrmacht command even issued orders forbidding German tanks to engage in open battle with them. "KV" armor could not be pierced by any antitank gun. The Hitlerites assigned the entire struggle against these tanks to aircraft and heavy artillery. The Soviet "IS-2" tank was recognized as the most powerful tank in World War II.

The main Soviet tank was the "T-34," which our people aptly named the legendary "34." It was repeatedly upgraded during the war. The "T-34-85" tank with an 85-mm gun came into service in the second half of 1943.

The indisputable superiority of Soviet tanks forced the Hitlerites to embark on a measure that was extreme in war conditions—the development of new type tanks. They started manufacturing "Panther" and "Tiger" tanks and the "Ferdinand" self-propelled gun. It is well known that Hitler postponed the offensive near Kursk in expectation of a buildup of more such vehicles. But the summer of 1943 saw the appearance of our own "KV-85" tank, whose shells could pierce the armor of Hitler's famed "mobile fortresses." The "SU-152" self-propelled gun was simultaneously developed. Its armor-piercing and even delayed-action fragmentation shells not only pierced the armor but often blew up the turrets of "Tigers" and "Panthers" and demolished and overturned medium-sized tanks. It was no accident that frontline soldiers called it the "monster killer."

While our country was producing more than 2,000 tanks each month in 1942-1944, Germany's industry achieved its maximum of 1,450 tanks a month only in May 1944.

At the beginning of the war Soviet fighter and bomber aircraft, with the exception of the latest models, were highly inferior to the German aircraft in terms of flight and technical performance, but in 1943 the majority of Soviet aircraft were superior.

The "Yak-3" fighter was the lightest and most maneuverable aircraft in World War II, while its brother in arms the "Yak-9" had the most powerful armament. The "LA-5" and "LA-7" fighters reached speeds of 648 and 680 km per hour, which gave them indisputable superiority over the Luftwaffe's best fighter, the "ME-109."

The "IL-2" ground-attack aircraft, which successfully combined armament with reliable armor protection, proved unsurpassed.

The rocket artillery—the famous "Katyushas"—gained unfading glory.

Every shell, tank, "Katyusha," or aircraft made in the shops in the Urals and Siberia brought victory nearer. How can we now fail to remember those who labored heroically in the rear. They were mostly old men, women, and children. The situation of the time placed heavy burdens on their shoulders. "Everything for the front...." Machine tools were the first to be installed in evacuated plants. They would start manufacturing output. Only then would they erect the partition walls. "Everything for the front...." And they used to work 12 and even 16 hours without a break.

Our country won the military-economic duel with Germany and its allies, the victory in the war was gained by our own arms, developed by Soviet people and made in Soviet enterprises. For their selfless labor in developing and producing armaments during the Great Patriotic War 198 workers from the rear were awarded the title Hero of Socialist Labor, while more than 204,000 workers, kolkhoz members, and representatives of the intelligentsia were decorated with orders and medals.

We must not, of course, forget about the allied assistance given by the United States and Britain. But it ought not to be overestimated, either. Lend-lease deliveries (between 1941 and 1945 inclusive) accounted for only 4 percent of the total volume of the Soviet Union's wartime production.

All through time, conquerors have been driven not only by the yearning for plunder and gains, but also by faith in their impunity. To prevent war from crossing our threshold, we must be strong. The Soviet Armed Forces have at their disposal the most modern armaments making it possible to crush any aggressor.

At the same time, we threaten nobody and do not set ourselves the goal of overtaking anyone in weapons production. There is nothing more precious than peace for a people who lost millions of lives during the last war. Evidence of this is provided by the USSR's numerous peace-loving proposals.

The Soviet state's military doctrine is of a strictly defensive nature. The concept of reasonable sufficiency in the defense sphere put forward by the 27th CPSU Congress is aimed at ensuring that we possess the exact amount of armaments necessary for defense from outside attack without thereby posing a threat to other countries' security. Our country is doing everything possible to put an end to the arms race so that the danger of a new world war should never threaten mankind.

...The people's memory is profound in its wisdom and kindness. It does not level any vain accusations, but it does not forget anything either. People today, with pain for the past and bright concern for the future, are making their way to the obelisks which testify to the unfading glory of those who upheld freedom and destroyed fascism.

Govorov: Remembrance as Duty

PM1105100188 Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian 9 May 88 pp 1, 2

[Article by Hero of the Soviet Union Army General V. Govorov, chief of USSR Civil Defense and USSR deputy defense minister: "Swearing an Oath to the Future"—first paragraph is SOVETSKAYA KULTURA introduction]

[Text] Vladimir Leonidovich Govorov donned military uniform straight after leaving school during the country's most difficult days in 1942. He fought until the very end of the Great Patriotic War. In our May Day issue we told readers about the first military parade in Moscow. Vladimir Leonidovich had the honor of commanding the capital's 100th parade on Red Square to mark the 55th anniversary of Great October. Now the well-known military leader and soldier who took part in the victory shares with SOVETSKAYA KULTURA readers his thoughts on a holiday which is dear to us all and on our complex times.

I think this is the brightest and most joyful holiday in each of our homes and in every Soviet family. It lives on and will always live on in the memory—that day which marked the victorious end of the Great Patriotic War against the German fascist invaders and the Soviet Armed Forces' historic victories, which marked the utter rout of Hitler's Germany. It is not erased from the people's memory, nor does it lose any of its brilliance despite the fact that with each passing year, sadly, the number of people who witnessed and accomplished the feat of all the people both at the front and in the rear is diminishing. In every city and every village on this day we visit the monuments to military glory, memorials, and fraternal graves. We honor the memory of those who gave their lives for the fatherland! We pay tribute to the living!

The war was won by all the people. No feats must go unrecognized, no heroes unknown, no names forgotten. Our duty is remembrance. As a man, a soldier, and frontline serviceman I am very moved and happy that this duty is understood and realized by young people nowadays, when our society is renewing itself and is removing the "blank spots" from its history. And that Komsomol members in the RSFSR, the Ukraine, and Belorussia are creating "Quest" ["Poisk"] groups without waiting for "orders from above" and are going out to battle sites and finding and bringing back to friends and the motherland the names of those missing in action or represented by the Unknown Soldier.

This quest, this patriotic movement is in keeping with the historical research which the 27th CPSU Congress and party documents in the past 3 years have recognized as vitally necessary for the further development of socialist society. Now, on the eve of the 19th party conference, an extensive discussion is under way in the country on vital questions of our history and particular periods of it are being critically analyzed. This deepens our understanding of the people's achievement and at the same time affords an opportunity to evaluate the complex stages of the formation and development of socialist society from the standpoint of historical truth. This also applies to the history of our Armed Forces. By party Central Committee decision, as SOVETSKAYA KULTURA has already reported, Soviet historians have now begun preparing new works on the Great Patriotic War, the second edition of the Soviet Military Encyclopedia, and other publications.

It is necessary to more objectively evaluate the contribution to victory made by the whole people and their individual representatives. And to learn the lessons for the future. The time has come to restore to history and the people the names of many prominent military leaders not only from the period of the organization and formation of the Worker-Peasant Red Army but also the war years. I have in mind in particular twice Hero of the Soviet Union Lieutenant General of Aviation Ya.V. Smushkevich, assistant chief of General Staff, Hero of the Soviet Union Colonel General G.M. Shtern, chief of the Air Defense Directorate, Colonel General A.D. Laktionov, deputy people's commissar for defense and commander of the Baltic Special Military District, Hero of the Soviet Union Major General of Aviation I.I. Proskurov, and many, many more. A considerable number of military leaders also suffered during the postwar repressions.

We also need fundamental works on the Great Patriotic War to debunk on a basis of truth the revelations of bourgeois propagandists and falsifiers who are continuing to try to distort the role and significance of the Soviet Union and its army in the rout of fascism and unscrupulously misrepresent the causes of the war. The bourgeois press is publishing on a massive scale materials which assign to the Eastern Front a secondary role in World War II. Instead they exaggerate the significance of the operations conducted by allied forces.

We are not the only ones who need truth. All the peoples of the world need it in their struggle for peace and the curbing of the arms race. The new works are designed to influence the formation of the new thinking, which regards a world without violence, weapons, or wars as the desired (and in our time really attainable) ideal.

The study of history and the consideration of its lessons are necessary to help us in our present-day searches and decisions and in our understanding of the revolutionary transformations that are in progress in the country. They are taking place in the army, too. The organization of service, training, and servicemen's everyday lives must all be openly discussed in the army collective.

Restructuring is gathering pace in the Civil Defense system too. Since it is responsible for rescue and other emergency work in eliminating the consequences of accidents, catastrophes, and natural disasters, emergency standing commissions have been created and special nonmilitary formations are being set up. Experience convinces us that such measures are necessary. Experience which is sometimes very bitter and gained at a high price. We have to ensure the population's protection in peacetime.

On the whole civil defense copes with this task. A clear example of that is provided by the civil defense forces' actions in the Chernobyl AES region. Everything is being done to restore life to the population centers there which

still stand empty and to make the soil productive again. The radiation danger is diminishing. It is being combated by quite young men and Armed Forces servicemen.

You hear people complain about modern youth. Their dances are different, their music is not right, and their thinking is "not like ours"... Some people even claim that our generation has nothing in common with 18-20 year olds today. That is not true! We do have something in common—a love of the motherland, a devotion to the party and the people, and courage and bravery. Those qualities enabled my contemporaries to gain the victory and they enable young people today to secure a future which they are to create themselves.

Where they do differ is that they know more and can take a broader and more long-term view than we did at their age. For example, young officers joining their units today are not like the cadets with whom I graduated from the Ryazan artillery college in 1942. They are assigned hardware which we did not even dream of—it simply did not exist at that time. Most of them graduate from higher educational establishments. They not only undergo special training courses there: They are taught the foundations of educational methods and psychology, ethics and aesthetics. And the ordinary soldier, the young man who joins the army for 2 years is quite unlike his wartime coeval. This does not worry me. This is the normal dialectical course of life. That was why victory was won. That was why we took the military oath before departing for the front.

Now they are also taking an oath to the future. The fate of restructuring and of the future is in the hands of young soldiers and experienced servicemen alike. In the renewal of the Army we are also experiencing braking forces and resistance to restructuring. Both in the Army and in society as a whole there are quite a few people whose lives are based on inertia, who like to wait for orders, and who do not like to take the initiative in complex situations. What is the result of all this? The press has already described the scandalous incident in which irresponsible people from the Perm civil defense headquarters caused alarm to the city's 1 million inhabitants with wailing sirens and an air alert during a routine test of "new elements." They and others have written and continue to write numerous papers and deliver verbose lectures instead of practical training and skillful propaganda. Civil defense means protecting people against accidents, criminal negligence, and the elements. It means training people how to operate carefully and efficiently in unforeseen situations. Yet there is insufficient help from local party and soviet organs, which, as the Perm incident showed, often view civil defense-the **defense of civilians** [boldface as published] in all circumstances—with a superficial disregard.

We are keenly aware now how much society as a whole and the Army in particular need high culture. Restructuring needs thinking people. Officers need not only specialized knowledge but also education in the very widest sense, breadth of vision, and the ability to understand literature, art, and music. The modern soldier sometimes asks his political worker or commander questions which require a different, humanities-based education to answer. The movement of thought in society is arousing interest in history, philosophy, and the processes occurring in art... There is no army unit without its own club or library, without amateur art collectives, and without festivals, competitions, and contests of the "What? Where? When?" type. Nevertheless, people continue to criticize the scarcity of events, particularly during servicemen's free days and leisure time. Why is that?

The majority of artistic works about the army usually portray a somewhat remote view of army life and sometimes (almost gleefully) draw distinctions between young servicemen and their contemporaries elsewhere and the gulf between the spiritual life of those and other young people. There is even a type of "army art" which has come about—ostentatious, brash, and having little in common with the serviceman's everyday and often very difficult **labor.** [boldface as published]

Some movie directors habitually cram their movies with brilliant marches and parades from beginning to end. Composers and poets provide them with these marches—bombastic tunes sometimes with texts which are frankly primitive and full of slogans. Meanwhile in the Army itself amateur artistic activity is developing on a wide scale and the number of singer-songwriters is growing. We watch these young people with interest. Take any television or radio broadcast in which the "Blue Berets" perform! How well they sing! And what songs!

The need for creativity among young people in military uniform is just as great as among those who appear at the "Ring" or any other theater with the same guitars and the same desire to be heard and understood and to speak on behalf of their generation. But in the Army that initiative and independence also develop because composers and poets do not lavish particular attention on our servicemen. Let us take the discussion of the march a little further. Countless song books have been published. But today's soldiers sing virtually the same songs as we did when we were in the Army. Not through "conservatism"—there is nothing else to sing.

Society as a whole needs high culture in all its manifestations. The Army in particular. We have no right to forget: The forces opposed to disarmament and the establishment of world peace are working actively and are clinging to their old unrealistic positions. So long as they exist our country's defense might must be maintained at a level enabling us to reliably protect Soviet people's peaceful labor and life. The USSR and the United States have signed the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate-Range and Shorter- Missiles. This is the first step toward disarmament. Not only we but all

mankind pin great hopes on the upcoming meeting between M.S. Gorbachev and President Reagan. At a meeting with foreign diplomats USSR Defense Minister D.T. Yazov reaffirmed the Soviet Union's adherence to the principles of a defensive doctrine and our country's readiness for new measures aimed at easing international tension. But at the same time both we and our Warsaw Pact allies are obliged to do everything necessary to ensure the socialist countries' security. Because the Western forces I have already mentioned are striving urgently to take measures to compensate for the missiles subject to elimination and are proposing various forms of NATO arms upgrading by modernizing individual types of arms and transferring new nuclear armaments to Europe or closer to it.

We paid too high a price to be able to close our eyes to all this. Each family paid too dearly for today's peace—virtually every household sent people off to war, many of whom did not come back. Victory Day gives us much to think about. Much to remember and relive. Not only with regard to the country and the people's common concerns but also with regard to our own future. I look at young men taking their oath to the future and I remember taking my own oath. The accelerated courses at the Ryazan Artillery College... The F.E. Dzerzhinskiy Artillery School and afterwards, in October 1943, the Leningrad front, where I took command of the 267th Guards Artillery Regiment gun platoon. How can I forget the 2d Baltic Front, May 1945, and my battery of the 10th Guards Army's 28th Guards Gunnery Brigade! How much kasha my friends and I ate from the same mess tin during those months! And how many friends I lost...

Moscow saluted the victorious frontliners 354 times in 1943-1945, marking the liberation of cities and major population centers, the crossing of rivers...

I mentioned the number of salutes, and it is an impressive number. But only major victorious events were commemorated. There were many of lesser scale and significance... Some concerned divisions, units, and subunits... Others concerned the ordinary soldier... Who stood his ground. Who repulsed the enemy. And who triumphed. The Soviet soldier who was saluted 30 times from 1,000 guns on 9 May 1945. It is to him and to the future that young people today, so like and also unlike my contemporaries, swear their oath...

Greetings to you on this day! Peace and happiness to us all!

Journalists View Northwest Border Guards' Work

PM1205073588 [Editorial Report] Moscow PRAVDA 8 May 1988, KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 7 May 1988, and SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA 8 May carry reports pegged to the upcoming Border Guards' Day.

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 8 May 1988 Second Edition carries on page 3 an article entitled "Meeting at the Border" signed by the PRAVDA Military Section. It reports a visit by central press, magazine, and radio journalists to Northwest Border District units and a meeting there with border troops organized by the USSR KGB Border Troops Political Directorate. The meeting was by attended by the following: Major General N. Britvin, member of the Military Council and chief of the USSR KGB Border Troops Political Directorate; Lieutenant General A. Viktorov, chief of the Red Banner Northwest Border District Troops, and Major General G. Kuts, chief of the district political department. It is pointed out that the period of stagnation did not spare the border troops:

"Thus, so-called forbidden themes gradually began to close off certain sections of the state border to journalists. The Soviet-Chinese border, the southern border, and even the stable, 'tranquil' northwestern border were, for example, closed off to the press from time to time. There has not for a long while now been any reporting from the Soviet-Afghan border...

"It should also be noted that certain difficulties have arisen in getting authorization for articles on a border theme." Stereotyping of border troops in the press has been one consequence of this, it is reported.

KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 7 May 1988 Second Edition front-pages a report entitled "At a Border Outpost" by own correspondent Lieutenant Colonel S. Kalinayev. He reports that a meeting between a group of Moscow journalists and border troops was held yesterday at the Aleksey Dmitriyevich Garkavyy Border Post, belonging to the Red Banner Vyborg Border Detachment named for S.M. Kirov. Maj Gen N. Britvin, Lt Gen A. Viktorov, and Maj Gen G. Kuts were in attendance.

Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 8 May 1988 First Edition carries on page 2 an N. Dombkovskiy report entitled "No Rest Days at the Border." It reports the same visit by journalists to the northwest border, describing displays of expertise on land and at sea. Maj Gen Britvin is quoted as saying, among other things, that there are 30-40 attempts to cross the district's border each year. These, it is said, are carried out, from the Soviet side, by criminals and fervent opponents of the existing system. "From the other side, the attempts are mostly designed to test our soundness. They are as a rule carried out by agents of special services belonging to a number of countries which do not have common borders with the USSR." They fail in their endeavors, it is reported.

Turkestan Military District Celebrates Jubilee

PM1205072588 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 8 May 88 Second Edition p 1

[Own correspondent report under general heading: "Military Districts' 70th Anniversary"]

[Text] The Turkestan Military District, formed by a Council of People's Commissars Decree in 1918, has a glorious combat history. The district's military servicemen defended Soviet power in the Central Asian republics, combated the basmachestvo [postrevolutionary anti-Soviet movement in Central Asia], and made a substantial contribution to military cadres' training in the years of the Great Patriotic War

A ceremonial meeting dedicated to the jubilee was held on 7 May in the district's House of Officers. The ceremonial meeting was opened by Lieutenant General A. Ovchinnikov, member of the district military council and chief of the district political directorate. A report was given by Army General N. Popov, the district troop commander.

Military servicemen were greeted by speeches from R. Nishanov, first secretary of the Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee, Army General M. Sorokin, USSR deputy defense minister, and other comrades.